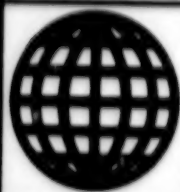


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22 MAY 1989



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-033

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**RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Meeting
on Housing Plans, Cooperatives**
*18000687 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 23 Mar 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers examined the matter concerning urgent measures to organize the implementation of the decisions of the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. RSFSR ministries and departments, councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and kray and oblast executive committees were instructed, on the basis of the guidelines and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to work out specific programs for a radical restructuring of the mechanism of management and administration in the agrarian sector of the economy and for a consistent implementation of a dynamic social policy in rural areas and on this basis to significantly improve the population's food supply. It was considered advisable to examine the entire complex of these matters at a meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Commissions for the preparation of proposals on realizing the guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum were formed.

The fulfillment of the program for housing construction and development of the social sphere in the light of the requirements of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was critically analyzed at the same meeting. It was noted that from all financing sources residential houses of a total area of 209.8 million square meters were built in the Russian Federation during 3 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan. As compared with the preceding five-year plan, on the average, the number of annually commissioned residential houses increased by 13 percent, of preschool institutions, by 16 percent, of schools, by 33 percent, of hospitals, by 20 percent, and of polyclinics, by 34 percent. At the same time, it was pointed out that in 1988 the fulfillment of the RSFSR Housing-2000 State Program was slowed down. The commissioned total area of residential houses decreased by 2 million square meters as compared with 1987. A serious lag in the construction of engineering support projects occurred. The faulty practice of putting into operation projects with defects and a low quality of work continues. The economic method and cooperative and individual construction are developing poorly. There are cases of demolition of high-quality houses suitable for residence and plans for the reconstruction and repair of residential buildings are not fulfilled. All this aggravates the acuteness of the housing problem.

Additional measures for an unconditional fulfillment of annual assignments of the Housing-2000 Program and the construction of other social sphere projects were outlined. The republic's ministries and departments and local Soviet bodies were instructed to provide construction projects with the necessary worker personnel and

material and technical resources, to attain a uniform commissioning of residential houses and social sphere projects during the year, to ensure an outstripping construction of engineering systems and other projects for municipal purposes, to more widely develop cooperative and individual construction, and to introduce new forms of organization of work on finishing apartments and providing territories with public services and amenities, including with the attraction of future residents. Special attention was paid to a fuller utilization of the capacities of house building enterprises and the construction of projects of the production base and the building materials industry.

The matter "Concerning the State of Development of Cooperatives in the RSFSR" was examined. It was noted that after the adoption of the Law on Cooperation in the USSR the development of cooperative forms in the Russian Federation was activated markedly. Last year the number of existing cooperatives increased 5.3-fold, reaching 38,900. The volume of sales of cooperative products totaled 3.3 billion rubles, which exceeded the 1987 level 20-fold. Cooperative forms of activity are developing at high rates in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad, the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, Stavropol Kray, and Moscow and Magadan oblasts. More than 708,000 people have become involved in cooperative activity.

The biggest number of cooperatives was established in the spheres of production of consumer goods and domestic services for the public. However, the products produced by cooperatives as yet do not give perceptible results in an improvement in the state of affairs on the market of goods and services. In the total volume of production of nonfood consumer goods cooperative workers account for only about 0.5 percent.

Local Soviet bodies and the republic's ministries and departments as yet do not sufficiently follow the line of creating organizational and economic conditions for the priority development of cooperatives contributing to the solution of the most important and acute national economic problems. On many territories the assumption by cooperatives of contractual obligations for the fulfillment of state orders is still of an occasional nature. The release of foodstuffs and nonfoodstuffs of a sufficient assortment for cooperatives from wholesale and small-scale wholesale bases of state trade and consumer cooperatives has not been organized. State supply organizations and enterprises slowly expand services for cooperatives for their provision with material resources for production and technical purposes.

Councils of ministers of autonomous republics, kray executive committees, oblast executive committees, Moscow and Leningrad city executive committees, and RSFSR ministries and departments were instructed to

thoroughly analyze the processes of developing the cooperative movement and to implement measures for consolidating the manifested positive tendencies and eliminating the shortcomings in their activity on the basis of the legislation in effect; to consider the production and processing of agricultural products, manufacture of consumer goods, primarily from secondary and local resources, execution of construction work, provision of scarce and social-priority domestic services, and bringing the level of cooperative prices closer to that of state prices among the priority directions in cooperative activity.

At the meeting of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers a report by N. I. Maslennikov, chairman of the RSFSR Gosplan, on the performance of the Russian Federation's national economy in January-February was heard and discussed and the matter concerning the course of fulfillment of state orders for the procurement and delivery of ferrous and nonferrous metal scrap and waste was examined.

Yakutsk Party Obkom Reacts to Izvestiya Criticisms of Party Work

18000676 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Pavel Gutionov, Yakutsk—Moscow, following up reaction in Yakutia to criticisms of style of party work leveled in earlier IZVESTIYA article by staff correspondent Oleg Petrovich Borodin, under the rubric "After the Izvestiya Article": "Are There Really Changes?"]

[Text] It goes without saying that, quite coarsely and "without looking at anyone," my colleague, IZVESTIYA staff correspondent Oleg Borodin, wrote his own account of the oblast party conference ("No Changes in Yakutsk," IZVESTIYA No 5, 1989)—the headline alone says it all: a lack of changes at the present time is nothing to be praised. And, therefore, it is especially important to hear out those criticized with all due attention and respect for another point of view.

Here it is.

"...Having familiarized yourself with the article, you feel a shocking state of bewilderment, as if you had taken a bath in a tub of mud, and you ask how Comrade Borodin can write something like that and tell of the business-like atmosphere and the essence of the content of the oblast party conference from his own personal point of view, with one-sided opinions and conclusions. We do not understand and we are surprised and indignant. It seems to us that the article is based exclusively on emotional chauvinism and defames the significance of the 35th Oblast Party Conference in the eyes of the local multi-ethnic populace of the republic and the Union as well... In his (Borodin's—Editor's note) newspaper articles, a stereotype of a style of work is graphically being followed—the pursuit of sensations, the so-called "sizzling"

facts, which, by the way, can now be found in abundance in any region of the country... By what right is it permissible to assault the party's authority?..."

This letter was signed by conference delegates P. Fedorova, director of the Sovkhoz imeni the 60th Anniversary of the USSR, delegate to the 27th CPSU Party Congress and member of the Yakutsk ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, P. Sofronov, party committee secretary of the same sovkhoz and Honored Worker of the Economy of the Yakutsk ASSR, and N. Ivanov, director of the Maganskiy Sovkhoz and Honored Livestock Specialist of the RSFSR—people who are more than a little authoritative. And I am very sorry that I missed their letter: it arrived in Moscow just as I returned to Yakutsk from a business trip. But this is precisely what my assignment was: to try all the same to determine if there are changes. And if there are, just what are they?

The fact is that it has become known to us how the Yakutsk Party Obkom began to prepare an answer to the criticism directed at it.

After the notice in IZVESTIYA, the delegates to the party conference from Yakutsk began to be called in groups into the gorkom, where Gorkom Second Secretary G. Mikheyev read to them "information on the article" (or, to put it more simply—its complete refutation) and insistently suggested what was read be approved. In a conversation with me, the secretary explained it thus: "We came together for discussion and consultation."

In coming to the point, the delegates asked Gennadiy Stepanovich: and who, in fact, is the author of the "information" which they are supposed to approve? The secretary shrugged his shoulders and said that he himself did not know and called (in front of the delegates yet) the obkom and there they also could find no traces of the author... In general, even now, this is a big secret.

Nevertheless, the "information" was discussed not just in Yakutsk. The Aldanskiy Rajon's newspaper, for example, even published an account of such a discussion. Beginning with the words of the rayispolkom chairman: "And, in general, we have demoralized the press from top to bottom"...

Why, in all of this as well, as has been said, "a stereotype of a style of work is being pursued," and not just in the pursuit of unconscientious journalists for sensations and "sizzling" facts.

And just what is meant by sensations?

The fact that, for nearly 15 years, in essence, the one and the same people have been circulating in the republic's leadership and in its party and soviet apparatuses—about which our staff correspondent wrote in his own account of the conference? Here, of course, it is possible to take offense, but the fact remains a fact: people change

from one chair to another while remaining in the same close-knit circle. The ministers become chiefs of obkom departments and those people become the ministers, then they go off somewhere "to a rayon" and return again to the capital... There are those who manage to switch between three or four rayons, but the cadre corps remains unchanged on the whole; this is especially well noticeable if you place the lists of the members of the elective organs side-by-side, for example, for the last three convocations. The positions change but the personnel do not...

Among them are people who truly have union-wide fame which they received as the heroes of celebrated newspaper notices. For example, a couple of years ago, P. Andreyev, the first secretary of the Bulunskiy Party Raykom, was played up twice in a row on the pages of the central newspaper. First, for nothing more and nothing less than sheltering from party responsibility administrators convicted (it is true, conditionally) of committing crimes. Then there was an attempt to carry out reprisals for criticism. As a result, the obkom bureau stated that

"the Bulunskiy Raykom of the CPSU did not give a principle evaluation of the guilty administrators, permitted attempts at groundless interference in the activities of the internal affairs organs and did not react properly to the individual critical statements and letters of citizens..." Therefore, the former raykom secretary was expelled from the party, the department chief and the party commission chairman were removed from their positions and the former and present chairmen of the rayispolkom, the deputy chairman and the procurator were punished severely. P. Andreyev himself, "for incorrect reaction to the letter of a communist and violation of the party principles of work with the cadres," was given a strict reprimand which was recorded on the registration form...

So what did P. Andreyev become in December of 1988? Chief of the obkom's Organizational and Cadre Work Department...

V. Balduev, until recently the first secretary of the Neryungri Party Gorkom, became famous in the press for the organization of the downright badgering of A. Novolodskiy, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy, Hero of Socialist Labor and construction brigade leader, who had begun to take his deputy rights and obligations too literally. Just a little bit earlier, I had to write about the judicial process, which once again did not create for the Neryungri Gorkom additional reputation as a champion of legality. And now, already in this year, in January, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA published an enormous document, one of the heroes of which was V. Balduev again: the first secretary was shielding those who, for 150,000 rubles, were building a shooting blind "for the leadership"...

Several days after this story, V. Balduev is appointed... Minister of Internal Affairs of the autonomous republic.

I asked A. Popov, the party obkom's secretary, how he explains just such a choice (I remind you that the previous minister was removed after an article in IZVESTIYA about his drunken outing in a launch on the Lena River, which ended in a collision and an attempt to hush up the matter). Anatoliy Afanasyevich thought for a minute and then answered: "Comrade Balduev put a lot of effort into the construction of Neryungri. You can plainly see—it is a splendid city..."

In the report, the obkom gave its own personnel policy high marks and, in any case, it was said that it had improved. Nevertheless, it is difficult to call some of the recent personnel changes anything other than a challenge to public opinion. The rayon's communists have no confidence in their own first secretary—at the conference, he is not among the members of the raykom. And here they go and put him in the obkom—as deputy chief of the organizational work department. In this same Neryungri, the ideological secretary was blackballed. Yet, in Yakutsk, they make him an assistant to the obkom's first secretary...

What is this—are we afraid of offending our own? So that everyone can see?

During this business trip, I met and talked for a long time with dozens of people—obkom and gorkom secretaries, workers, industrial executives, pilots, river transport workers, leaders of informal organizations... There is no need to deceive oneself and others with the idea that the "demoralized press" is allegedly undermining the authority of the leaders. In such a, generally speaking, small city as Yakutsk, it is impossible to conceal anything... But it is another matter when "measures" against guilty parties are adopted exclusively only after intervention from the "center." Thus, only after complaints to Moscow was a party reprimand given to the chairman of the republic's Committee of People's Control, V. Struchkov, whose son was assigned a non-competitive place in the university by the Yakut ASSR Council of Ministers as... a representative of the minority nationalities of the North. And the son enrolled, having gathered 11 points during preliminaries—14, even though he was no representative of a minority people and, for everyone at the university, this was more than obvious...

V. Struchkov remained chairman of the Committee for People's Control and, after the conference, was selected as a candidate member of the obkom's bureau...

Last summer, the Yakut ASSR's procurator (again, not on his own initiative, but rather, on the instructions of the RSFSR Procuracy) checked on the observance of the law in the activities of the state customers and, on a broader scope, the state of affairs with regards to the protection of animal life in the republic. And once again,

the entire city "knew" the results of this check and, even though SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA YAKUTIYA named them, the obkom, by far, did not punish all the highly placed violators of the hunting rules. Two deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers "suffered," but the referenced list was nearly two pages long and began with the last names of the obkom's first secretary and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium... And one more detail: a rifle for personal use can be obtained only by professional hunters who personally participate in the procurement of the meat of wild animals. Nevertheless, according to the procuracy's information, of 388 private owners of carbines, only 48 are regular hunters. The remaining weapons "have been dispersed" among various types of leaders, including ones of the highest rank...

In connection with everything said above, I was particularly interested in the words of one of those who maintained that the oblast party conference was an example of decisive action and adherence to principles. "Take (he mentioned a last name), your correspondent offended him in the article and yet his was the most critical speech. He directly criticized the first secretary!..."

I found the original of this most critical speech. Here is the section which so delighted my interlocutor: "The Secretariat of the CPSU Obkom, I think, has shaped up impressively, a quite harmonious fivesome. All the secretaries have a rich store of theoretical and practical knowledge. I suggest that all the secretaries be retained in the next term. A lot depends to a decisive degree on the first secretary. Yu. N. Prokopyev is a worthy candidate. I have one request to make of Yuriy Nikolayevich. Recently, you have been busy with the questions of the development of education and science. This is the same kind of attention you should pay to the questions of propaganda and agitation and to the creative collectives..."

...So, for all that, what about the changes in Yakutsk? Unfortunately,

the republic can not yet boast about successes in industry, construction and agriculture. There are, of course, innovations, but, by far, not all of them can be approved unreservedly. For example, they converted the Ministry of Light Industry into a territorial production association [TPO]. What, then, was changed? According to the information of the Yakut ASSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], the ministry had on its own staff 27 individuals with an annual wage fund of 125,000 rubles, while the new TPO received an administrative apparatus with 49 individuals already and a corresponding wage fund of 276,700 rubles. The staff increase was done on the basis of an order from the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers and the costs of maintaining the swollen apparatus fall entirely on the shoulders of the production collectives...

The social sphere in the republic is in a painful state. Thus, in the local Economics Institute, they acquainted me with the research, from which it follows that here Yakutia is lagging farther and farther behind all its own neighbors...

So, are there really changes?

"You know," I was told by the gorkom's second secretary, who, as you remember, conducted the meetings with the delegates in order to discuss the article in *Izvestiya*, "You know that the people of Yakutia considered themselves to be simply insulted by the tone of this article and its contents"...

The day before this conversation, I attended an okrug meeting of the electors for the national territorial okrug of Yakutsk. At it, of seven aspiring candidates for people's deputies, two were confirmed. This included the staff correspondent of the newspaper *Izvestiya*, a native Yakutian, Oleg Petrovich Borodin.

"Gennadiy Stepanovich," I asked the secretary, "does it not seem strange to you that not one of the insulted, to use your words, people expressed any challenges to our correspondent yesterday?"

"Well, perhaps, the people simply do not know the real state of affairs," answered the secretary...

Well, nothing! The people do know! And this is precisely what the main changes, which are occurring now in front of our eyes, and not just in Yakutsk, are all about.

First of all, the conference delegates themselves, in their own majority, refused to play the role which was written for them in the full sense of the word. I am judging primarily by my personal meetings, by the letters and telegrams which have come to the editors and the correspondents' station and by the protocols of party meetings, at which the communists have expressed support for the newspaper's position.

"We are disturbed by the actions of the obkom's apparatus with respect to your staff correspondent, who gave an objective evaluation of the 35th Oblast Party Conference... Anatoliy Pavlovich Vremenich, on the instructions of the group of delegates from the Mirninskiy [Rayon] party organization"—this is a telegram.

"I myself was going to speak at the conference with a criticism of the report, but, I will tell you honestly, I dared not. But, at our party meeting, I said straight out that the conference was absolutely not perestroika-oriented. And we also wrote this in the protocol." I am copying from my notepad the words of geologist G. Balakshin.

"It was even suggested at the meeting that the republic's primary party organizations be turned to specifically with the suggestion that the question of the advisability

of convening an extraordinary oblast conference be discussed. However, the majority adopted the resolution: "To recognize as correct the basic conclusions stated in the article "No Changes in Yakutsk"... P.N. Semenov, member of the party bureau of the Yakutgasprom Association."

"...After O. Borodin's article came out, a meeting took place in the Press House with A. Popov, the obkom's secretary, where the question was put to him about the obkom's attitude toward the article. He answered unambiguously that this is only just the author's personal opinion. Well, then, now O. Borodin is not alone—there are two of us: I, Yegor Yegorovich Alekseyev, born 1932, a Yakut, CPSU member since 1965, having worked for 28 years at the Yakutsk State University, 17 of them as a docent of the Department of USSR History, secretary of the faculty's primary party organization, elected a delegate to the city party conference, a person who ardently craves genuine perestroika and is convinced that, with a basic cadre of the highest echelon from the era of stagnation, we can not reach the wide-open space of the revolutionary renewal of life and the general moral cleansing..."

No, comrades, all the same, there are changes in Yakutsk! For example, standing next to the entrance to the party gorkom is the stand of the "Torch of Glasnost." On the stand is a xerox copy of a letter from T. Ammosov, National Artist of Yakutia and the Russian Federation. In 1976, the then first secretary of the obkom gave him an "honorary commission"—to make from a mammoth tusk a choron (a Yakut ethnic vessel) and to decorate it with diamonds—as a present for L. I. Brezhnev on the occasion of his anniversary. The master worked for three months—in Yakutsk and Moscow, and made the choron, which was then presented as prescribed... In the letter, written a year earlier, are listed by name all the figures involved in the organization of the "gift," including those of them who, as before, are occupying high positions in the republic...

The stand is standing there and people are crowding around it. In the republic's newspapers, articles appeared, in which an attempt was made to explain somehow, from where the obkom got the diamonds. It is already necessary to **come up with an explanation** to contend with public opinion...

It is slow, but we are thawing out...

But I will return to the letter, with which this material began. Pay attention to the terminology. In the article, specific people are criticized—and this is called an "assault on the authority" of the entire party. What is being talked about is absolutely the unfit practice again of specified organizations—they accuse the author and the newspaper of chauvinism and defamation of the local cadres.

Coming to the point, this method, unfortunately, is not "Yakutian": the method of organization of the collective "refutations," which they are striving to portray as the "voice of the people," is being tried now by many...

...A. Popov, the obkom secretary, tried to convince me that they were not organizing any kind of campaign to discuss the article. But then he asked: "Advise me, what answer are we supposed to send you? In what form? What content?"

I declined to advise him.

Perhaps, this is why, up till now, the editors have received no official answer from Yakutsk.

Medvedev Activities in Belorussia Reported

Familiarized with Scientific-Technological Base
18000818 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[Article: "Restructuring—Living Creativity of the Masses: V. A. Medvedev's Visit to Minsk"]

[Text] The scientific and technical complex that has evolved in Belorussia is making possible a leap forward in improving Soviet production procedures, technology, microelectronics and information science, and raising the effectiveness of all industrial production. One of the most important elements of this complex is the Minsk Integral Production Association. Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev began the second day of his stay in the republic with a visit to this particular enterprise.

The collective, which is participating in the implementation of eight union and republic scientific and technical programs, is working confidently and resourcefully. By continually updating its production it is keeping interruptions in production from happening. The targets for 3 years of the five-year plan have been significantly surpassed here, just last year's profit in excess of the plan was over 15 million rubles, and almost 90 percent of the articles bear the state Emblem of Quality. Among them in particular are sets of electronic devices for the Rostov Agricultural Machine Building Plant and motor vehicle enterprises.

This success was attained due to new forms of labor organization and active cooperation with science. Forty-nine academy and sector institutes and VUZes and the association's own planning and design force are helping the plant workers to design equipment for the future and optimize production. Vadim Andreyevich visited a shop that just recently employed 1,500 workers but now employs around 700. Sections outfitted with world-class production procedures have been created here; in many

ways this is to the credit of the association itself, the collective of which traditionally orients itself on production of the most up-to-date articles using its own machine building base.

In response to the slogan "A personal computer for every businessman!" Integral developed a model of a portable computer having possibilities corresponding to the best international models, and even surpassing them in some parameters. The computer satisfies the widest range of users—from the schoolchild to the academician. But last year only 2,000 of the instruments "saw the light of day," while the market is anticipating at least 400,000-500,000 computers a year. The problem of erecting a new plant for these purposes was deemed to be especially acute in a meeting with the association's active party members and administrators.

The desire of Integral's collective to be on par with modern requirements in consumer goods production was noted as well. These goods represent a fifth of the association's entire program.

Around 4,500 communists are working in the collective. It was therefore natural for an interesting discussion to occur at the meeting about the work of the party organization, replenishment of its ranks and the progress of the election campaign.

V. A. Medvedev asked about the social and personal problems in the life of the plant workers, acquainted himself with the Integralovets Public Food Services Combine and gave a high assessment to the level and quality of its work.

V. A. Medvedev emphasized the need for persistently working in support of the appeal of the 19th All-Union Party Conference to do more work in all areas.

Recently the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries issued an author's certificate on which "Golubev's Machine" was written in the section "Name of Invention." The inventor is Vladimir Golubev, an instructor of the Minsk Radio Engineering Institute [MRTI]; he was able to create an internal combustion engine having no analogues in existence.

During the visit to the MRTI the inventor acquainted CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev with a working model of this unusual development. Vadim Andreyevich asked about the prospects for introducing the innovation, and emphasized the need for getting the machine into quantity production.

One of the radio engineering institute's auditoriums was transformed into a classroom. But rather than traditional desks, it is equipped with Nemiga personal computers. They were developed by the VUZ's scientists and students especially to teach children information science and computer technology. Moreover this classroom is

not intended just for exhibition purposes: It contains personal computers that were produced by the Minsk Kalibr Plant with the assistance of the institute's specialists. Describing the development, Docent Aleksandr Petrovskiy emphasized that a classroom containing 13-14 Nemiga computers costs only 25,000 rubles, which is within the means of any secondary school. The new personal computer offers one other important advantage to schoolchildren—a large mainframe computer is unnecessary—every display works independently. Such inexpensive developments for the mass user had not existed in the country before. V. A. Medvedev showed interest in what is referred to as an invention machine, created in the institute's artificial intelligence laboratory. Vladimir Tsurik, one of the developers, showed how the computer produces information based on expert assessments on the status of developments in different directions of technology within just a few seconds. Whatever the problem, the computer will suggest an existing solution.

When Medvedev asked how high the demand for the innovation is, Vladimir Tsurik communicated that 250 Soviet enterprises and companies in Japan, the USA, the FRG, Austria, the Netherlands and other countries are interested in the development. Given this demand, the profit would be about \$200 million per year.

Specialists of the MRTI acquainted Medvedev with one other important development that can make printed board production a practically clean process. The authors communicated, not without pride, that two such lines already exist.

During an interview held in the meeting hall of the VUZ's scientific council Medvedev discussed the paths which the higher school is to travel in the immediate future, and the extremely urgent need for reexamining the mutual relationships that have evolved between VUZes and enterprises.

Education is a sphere of the most effective investment of assets. But in our republic the higher school is unable to earn a minimum income, and must play the role of suppliant. "You need to reexamine relations with those for whom you train specialists, and go over to cost accounting relations," emphasized V. A. Medvedev. "And concurrently, it is time to reject gross indicators in personnel training: Each student must be taught individually, since otherwise the problem of the quality of education could not be solved."

Professor Viktor Ilin, rector of the MRTI, described the problems the institute has been encountering during the restructuring effort. His report of creation of training-scientific-production associations and introduction of a training system in which training of the future graduate student would begin before he finishes school, in an industrial training center, which would permit him to come to the VUZ sufficiently prepared for work with computer technology, was attended with interest.

"We have planned construction of an experimental plant and an engineering scientific training center for microelectronics, we are already building a special design and technological office, and institute boarding schools for mathematically gifted children and training centers are next in line. This base will make it possible to begin training engineers at a fundamentally new level."

Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician Vladimir Labunov described the republic's information science program, the prospects of its implementation and the difficulties which are being encountered along this path.

Medvedev replied to questions in detail, offered recommendations and expressed his wishes. Then followed a lively, uninhibited discussion with students.

In the latter half of the day Medvedev visited the Exhibition of the Achievements of the Belorussian National Economy. The tour of the exhibits evolved into a serious, thorough discussion of the problems of modern production. It began at an exhibit of tractors and motor vehicles produced by the Minsk Tractor Plant and the BelavtoMAZ Production Association. Specialists from the enterprises displayed some technological innovations. Medvedev asked for the technical specifications of Belarus tractors, wanting to know the quantity of operations that they could carry out and their comfort features, which are so important to productive labor of tractor drivers.

But the MAZ-2000 truck-train or, as its creators—Belorussian motor vehicle builders—named it, the "Perestroyka" ["Restructuring"], was the highlight of the program. Back in fall, at the Paris International Auto Show, visitors displayed an enormous interest in it. It was noted that workers of BelavtoMAZ have entered into competition with the leading foreign motor vehicle companies. Completely new, original technical concepts are employed in the vehicle's design. The principle of sectional design and unified modules making it possible to change configuration depending on the kind of road or the nature of the cargo is employed. The 2000 figure does not at all mean that this vehicle will not go into quantity production until the beginning of the century. Its industrial production is planned to begin as early as at the end of the next five-year plan. But this will require extensive cooperation among the sector's plants. Special attention must be turned to designing an engine locally for the new vehicle. At the moment it is equipped with a diesel engine produced by West Germany's MAH. Unfortunately associates are not yet able to provide a good engine for the "Perestroyka," one which would ensure high speed coupled with relatively low fuel consumption and ecologically harmless exhausts, and which would possess a long life.

Medvedev noted that the future belongs to such truck-trains, and it is a good thing that Belorussian motor vehicle builders are working energetically for the future.

Nor has the future been forgotten in relation to other sectors, which are covered by exhibits of machine tools, instruments and electronic and computer technology. In particular Medvedev asked how things were going with computer classrooms for schools. He was shown the latest models of personal computers.

Before, exhibits were selected for the Exhibition of the Achievements of the Belorussian National Economy on the basis of the principle of demonstrating what is referred to as the industrial countenance of the republic, and of its sectors. Products were shown only in single specimens. But now the approach is changing. The models that are shown now are accompanied by information from which one can learn how many such articles are being produced now or, if this is a model of the future, how many will be delivered to consumers in the following year. It is true that even though they are displayed at the exhibition, many of the products are in very short supply. Especially consumer goods. At the beginning of the five-year plan the country's government adopted a decision to place priority on development of light and food industry. This required profound changes in industrial structure, modernization of the sectors and reorientation of the economy toward the individual. Cooperatives, the contribution of which is as yet not very great, are also to play a major role in saturating the marketplace with goods.

Such was the essence of the discussion that went on in the consumer goods section.

After touring the exhibition V. A. Medvedev shared his impressions of what he had seen. In particular he said that within this short time he was able to substantially acquaint himself only with Belorussian electronic industry, which is at a most up-to-date level. As for the rest of it, unfortunately, he was only able to learn from what he saw in the exhibition. But that which he did see would be a credit to any republic, he said. The exhibitions are impressive over the entire spectrum—beginning with machine building products and ending with goods for people. But the possibilities are far from exhausted yet, and we must move forward. Today, 58 percent of the industrial products manufactured in the republic correspond to international standards. But their overwhelming majority should be manufactured at this same level. All possibilities must be utilized to the maximum in this area.

V. A. Medvedev was accompanied by comrades Ye. Ye. Sokolov, V. F. Kebich, V. A. Lepeshkin and V. A. Pechennikov.

Meets with Creative Intelligentsia
18000818 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Article: "Intellectual Potential in Aid of Restructuring: V. A. Medvedev's Visit to Minsk"]

[Text] The restructuring effort, which was born in the course of deep rethinking of social processes and scientific analysis of the historical lessons of the path we have

thus far traveled, requires considerable intellectual support today. This idea became the leitmotif of the meeting of Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev with executives of the republic's creative unions and representatives of the creative intelligentsia, held in the evening of 28 February in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Medvedev opened the meeting with brief introductory remarks. Describing the ideological situation that evolved in the country following the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that life is posing many problems, and will continue to pose even more. They are being actively discussed in the party and the society, and in the mass media, and various approaches and points of view are being suggested. This is good, since it is consistent with the course toward glasnost, democratization and openness. But we cannot fail to take notice of certain extremes that have manifested themselves in the ideological process. All the more so because negativistic tendencies have recently grown stronger, and the scatter of opinions sometimes even goes beyond the framework of socialist pluralism. Criticism of past shortcomings alone is not enough for restructuring. We need a sensible combination of a healthy attitude in ideological work directed at constructive efforts, at strengthening our values, and a critical eye, not only in relation to the past but also in relation to the present.

A free exchange of opinions occurred during the meeting on the place and role of the creative intelligentsia in the restructuring process, in increasing spirituality and morality in the society's life, and strengthening socialist ideals.

Belorussian SSR Union of Theater Officials Chairman Nikolay Yermenko described the early development of the recently created society, and shared his plans and concerns. Much has already been done in close contact with the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Culture. But there are still more than enough problems, especially in the development of national theater. The union's plans include creating Belorussian troupes in Russian-language theaters, expanding the national repertoire, and opening new centers of Belorussian theatrical culture. It is important for these plans to receive both ideological and material support.

Discussing his attitude toward various sorts of informal associations, and generally supporting healthy initiatives being carried out within the framework of the restructuring conception, Nikolay Yermenko also shared his concern. Some of their leaders, while supporting restructuring in words, slip into extremism more and more often, and even go as far as advocating rejection of the party's leadership role. "Naturally we do not support such informal groups and such programs, we do not associate ourselves with them," the chairman of the Union of Theater Officials emphasized.

"I am deeply convinced," Nil Gilevich, first secretary of the board of the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union continued on this topic, "that if our soviets at all levels were to tackle the problems of language, national culture and ecology more boldly and consistently, there would simply be no informal associations." In the speaker's opinion there is an element of disenchantment with local government organs today. In this connection the speaker expressed the hope that the new soviets of peoples deputies formed in the republic in the course of the political reform would become real organs of popular sovereignty.

Nil Gilevich also expressed his attitude toward the problem of Belorussian language and national culture, noting that elementary persistence and energy are lacking in the solution of many problems, frequently simple ones. The writer made the proposal to return Belorussian literary journals to their former volume, which was reduced 15 years ago under the excuse of a "temporary" measure. He expressed regrets concerning the unhealthy writers' debate going on in the central press, which is distracting energy, time and inspiration to personal infighting.

Supporting this point of view, Belorussian Peoples Writer Ivan Shamyakin stated the opinion that the voice of an authoritative organ such as the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission is not being heard sufficiently clearly in this conflict. In this aspect the situation in the republic writers' organization is normal on the whole. But as soon as something happens, voices are raised, distracting public opinion away from specific efforts.

USSR Peoples Artist Zair Azgur spoke about the great role of art and its influence on the moral health of society. The restructuring effort has freed the mind, but the euphoria of freedom must not lead to a feeling of anarchy and all-permissiveness, to pathological deformations in creativity. An artist standing on firm Marxist positions and preaching laws common to all mankind is called upon to satisfy the main requirement of art in all things—truth.

Film producer Viktor Dashuk discussed the impermissibility of narrow group interests in the creative environment. In the minds of some comrades restructuring means hand-to-hand combat, he emphasized. Yes, broad pluralism of opinions is necessary, but this must be pluralism in behalf of an idea, and not in behalf of the interests of groups. We must direct all of our efforts toward publicizing socialist ideals, toward consolidation, rather than tossing narrow egoistic group ideas into the campfire of public opinion.

Belorussian SSR Artists' Union board chairman Vladimir Stelmashonok recalled a well known saying in this connection: A tiny fish is better than a big cockroach. What we need so much today are concrete acts, and not the endless debates and clarification of attitudes.

We have before us unexplored horizons for work on esthetic education, and the creative intelligentsia does have a place where it could apply its effort.

The speaker focused attention on the specific problems of developing fine arts in the republic, of organizing museum affairs and of the gap between the material base of culture and the real needs.

These same problems were developed in the statement made by Belorussian SSR Composers' Union board chairman Igor Luchenok. The remainder principle, he emphasized, which prevailed for many long years in relation to art and to Belorussian musical culture, has had an especially tangible effect. The creative potential of the union's members is high, and it is famous throughout the country, but the poverty of the material and technical base is astounding. Our problems are being met with understanding and sympathy, of course, but sympathy alone is not enough. The artist who is ready to devote both his talent and his strength to restructuring requires social security.

V. A. Medvedev summarized the results of the meeting. He emphasized that the party values the contribution made by the creative intelligentsia to renewal of all aspects of the society's life highly. "If we look at the basic spheres of the life and labor of the people," the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, "things aren't going badly in your republic. And great credit for this belongs to all of the Belorussian people, their intelligentsia and the leadership of the republic. But we need to go farther today. It is a good thing that you are putting your lives into the problems of restructuring, that you are not taking satisfaction in previous accomplishments. The field for activity is truly vast.

"Only by restructuring, by combining its principles with our fundamental ideas can we form a system of values which will help orient the activities of the people, and impart inspiration and a high moral charge to them. Our choice of socialism was made, and it is being supported by the people. Therefore it is only by renewing socialism, by imparting modern form to it, that we can attain a qualitatively new level in the society's development."

Comrades Ye. Ye. Sokolov, N. S. Igiunov, V. A. Lepeshkin and V. A. Pechennikov took part in the meeting.

The third day of Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev's stay in Minsk began with a visit to the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences. The urgent problems of developing scientific research in the republic and intensifying its influence on restructuring economic and social life were discussed in a meeting with scientists.

Academician V. P. Platonov, the president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, and other speakers emphasized that the main efforts of the academy are

now directed at developing the priority directions, ones in which the accomplishments of Belorussian scientists are the most substantial, and in which world-level results are anticipated. These spheres of application of effort were determined by a program for development of the republic's Academy of Sciences to the year 2000, which foresees serious measures to strengthen the potential of the flagship of the republic's scientific school.

The priority directions of research include machine building, electronics and agriculture—areas in which the republic has attained the most tangible successes. The high level of development of these sectors also helps science, which acquires new problems for research from them. Examples of such fruitful cooperation are numerous. One of them is the "Perestroika" motor vehicle, which was designed with the active participation of the academy's scientists. Many joint projects are being conducted with the Integral Production Association, with Minsk tractor builders and with the republic's machine tool builders.

At the same time the speakers noted that cooperation with industry is encountering very serious difficulties, inasmuch as science does not have any real levers by which to influence its partners. This is why a proposal was made to create socialist companies in the future under a statute which would clearly define the rights and responsibilities of the enterprises and scientific centers contained within them.

The Academy of Sciences is devoting considerable attention to ecological problems. Cooperation with the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Natural Resources has been organized. The Institute of Problems of Ecology, which is to devote its main attention to problems associated with the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident, will open this year. Expert assessment of the largest projects will occupy an important place in its work; moreover such assessment will be carried on in the preliminary planning stage.

The Academy of Sciences must be the center of not only scientific but also spiritual life in the republic. The fact that it has recently been assuming this role is confirmed by the meeting held last year between scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia and by the conference "People, Culture, Restructuring" that will be held this summer with the participation of writers, composers, artists, actors and scientists. They will discuss the problems of modern society and its spiritual life together.

Social scientists are to rise to a new level. Sociology should become one of the priorities in this regard. A center for sociological research is already functioning in the Institute of Philosophy and Law, but in the opinion of scientists it must be granted independence.

Medvedev noted in his statement that the party and government attached decisive significance to development of science, and that no decision of great importance to the country will be made without the participation of scientists.

An enormous effort is being made to solve the personnel problems of science and to surmount conservatism and inertia in the organization of scientific activity. What restructuring should mean to science is its faster development. After all, we have become traditionally used to explaining our backwardness by the notion that we had inherited science from the times of czarist Russia, and that we are gradually surmounting this backwardness. Today this formula no longer works—we have fallen behind even in directions new to science.

Development of restructuring programs essentially began namely with science—with a major conference on scientific and technical progress in the CPSU Central Committee. Everyone understood, you see, that the root of the matter lies in this issue. Later on it was revealed, of course, that scientific and technical progress in the national economy is associated with the economic mechanism, while the economic mechanism is associated with the political system. Only after this dependence was established did things begin to happen. No matter how far we go from the original sources of restructuring, we must remember that without scientific and technical progress, we cannot achieve anything, no matter how we restructure the economic mechanism, no matter how democratic we make our political system.

In the final analysis, Medvedev noted, many of our woes hinge upon the backwardness of fundamental sciences. This is why the Politburo instructed a commission headed by Comrade N. I. Ryzhkov to seriously study the question of developing fundamental sciences in the country, so that we could increase our scientific potential.

V. A. Medvedev was accompanied by comrades Ye. Ye. Sokolov, A. A. Malofeyev and V. A. Pechennikov during his entire visit to the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences.

The discussion on the problems of ideological and theoretical support to restructuring, mass political work and formation of public opinion in the spirit of faithfulness to socialist values, begun the day before with representatives of the creative intelligentsia, was continued during V. A. Medvedev's meeting with active ideological workers on 1 March. Party workers, executives of ideological institutions and representatives of the mass media took part in it.

Many proposals and observations were voiced by Minsk City Belorussian Communist Party Committee First Secretary V. G. Gal'ko, Mogilev Oblast Party Committee Secretary L. V. Pakush, Gomel Oblast Belorussian Communist Party Committee First Secretary A. S. Kamay,

Minsk City Party Committee Ideological Department Director N. S. Ivanova, Grodno Oblast Belorussian Communist Party Committee Ideological Department Director V. P. Tarantsey and Minsk Oblast Party Committee Secretary V. D. Atroshchenko. Characterizing the ideological situation in the republic as a whole as normal, the speakers expressed concern in regard to some extreme manifestations in the development of social progress, certain extremist dispositions, and the absence of the necessary culture in the conduct of political debates.

Dissatisfaction in the activities of the mass media, which continue to devote considerable attention to seeking various sorts of sensationalism, and which do not publicize the accumulated experience and the real accomplishments of restructuring actively enough, was sensed in practically every statement. Some thoughtlessly written publications are promoting division and inflammation of passions and emotions, rather than consolidation of all of restructuring's active proponents.

It was noted that the effectiveness of ideological work depends in many ways on local solution of socioeconomic, ecological and cultural problems, on the level of glasnost and the extent to which the people are informed, and on the unity of word and deed. Attention was turned in this connection to the features of the present election campaign, in the course of which some deputy candidates engaging in free competition are making economically groundless promises to the voters.

A sense of realism is extremely important in any matter. It was emphasized at the meeting that restructuring is not a one-time act, but meticulous, daily work, including ideological work. The processes occurring in the social consciousness require rejection of many habitual forms and stereotypes, and transition to new methods of political leadership. Unless economic and social problems are analyzed from an ideological and theoretical standpoint, unless legal reform is conducted, and unless the consciousness of the people is changed, restructuring will not happen. This is why all ideological work must be oriented on controlling all processes without digressions, without losing initiative, on unifying the people and mobilizing them to solve the complex and multifaceted problems of socialist renewal.

V. A. Medvedev spoke to the active ideological workers at the conclusion of the meeting.

Comrades Ye. Ye. Sokolov, G. S. Tarazevich, M. V. Kovalev, N. S. Igrunov, V. A. Lepeshkin, A. A. Malofeyev, V. A. Pechennikov and V. I. Goncharik took part in the meeting.

Meets with Candidates, Party, Labor
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[Speech by V. A. Medvedev at a meeting with representatives of the republic's party and public organizations and labor collectives]

[Text] As was reported earlier, CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. A. Medvedev, the Communist Party candidate for USSR peoples deputy and a member of the Politburo, met with representatives of the republic's party and public organizations and labor collectives in Minsk on 1 March. V. A. Medvedev's speech and statements by participants of the meeting are published below.

Respected comrades!

I would like to extend to you, representatives of party and public organizations and labor collectives of the city of Minsk, and through you to all of the republic's communists and laborers, regards from the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo. I would like to thank the republic's leadership from the bottom of my heart for providing me, the USSR Communist Party deputy candidate, the opportunity to meet with you and acquaint myself with life in the capital of Soviet Belorussia.

In the last few days I was able to visit the Integral Association, the Academy of Sciences and the Exhibition of the Achievements of the Belorussian SSR National Economy, and to meet with teachers and students of the radio engineering institute, with prominent cultural officials and with party workers. These meetings were very useful and interesting to me.

The main thing I carry away from these meetings and discussions is that the life of the Belorussian people is moving along in a good, healthy working rhythm. This reinforces even more its high moral authority in the family of our fraternal, equal nations. Support to the party's restructuring effort can be sensed everywhere. And the support itself takes the form of not eloquent words, but action. What the laborers wish for the most is to maintain a firm course toward renewal, to carry out restructuring unflinchingly, to step up the pace, to achieve more tangible practical results. I perceive this to be the Soviet people's election mandate to our party and its Central Committee.

The country is drawing itself ever deeper into a process of transformation. An effort which will determine the destiny of the country for many years and even decades to come is unfolding more and more actively upon the enormous social field of our society.

An essentially new, more dynamic and inspired society is being born before our eyes, one which is living and working in ways different from just a few years ago, assessing its past and present more precisely and deeply, and building the future. This is a society that is all in motion.

A clear example of this is the present election campaign. This is the first time elections have acquired such a lively and, I would say, tumultuous nature, one so unstaged. Intense debates are being carried on about deputy candidates, about those who will determine the state's course and adopt the most important legislative acts in the next 5 years, about those on whom radical renewal of our socialist society and the material and cultural welfare of the people will depend.

This election campaign is also unique in that besides focusing on the specific programs of the deputies and the mandates of the voters, it is emphasizing what might be called fundamental issues: the paths of our society's subsequent development, and the resources, rate and methods of restructuring.

The program of fundamental changes which the party initiated 4 years ago received general, practically unqualified support from the very beginning.

Subsequently, as the plans for transforming different spheres of life were written and as their practical implementation began, the public support to restructuring became increasingly deeper and aware, making a transition from the area of emotions to the sphere of practical work.

At the same time restructuring has impacted processes which directly affect the interests of people, collectives, large social groups, and forms of labor and life that took years to evolve. Some it affected to a greater degree, while others to a lesser degree. Moreover the restructuring effort in the economic and political spheres naturally encountered certain difficulties, and itself generated certain conflicts.

On the general backdrop of sincere support to restructuring, interest in it, an enormous rise of the people's initiative and, I would say, public spiritual enthusiasm, all of this has also resulted in a certain degree of differentiation and even polarization of opinions, ideas and attitudes.

Inconsistent and even conflicting interests are being revealed, the scatter of opinions is widening, public debates are growing sharper, and criticism of particular processes from both the right and the left is intensifying.

Conservative attitudes and inertia, a longing for former orders, nostalgia for the stagnant times of Brezhnev on the part of those who fear the new, who feel threatened by the danger of losing a quiet life and a comfortable

position, continue to have an effect. Such people tend to blame on restructuring all such difficulties—from shortages of food and industrial goods to the tensions arising in international relations.

And yet, all restructuring has done is to illuminate—one might say to shed God's light on—problems which had accumulated over the years in former times but were buried deep. In this way restructuring is creating conditions for seeing these problems better, and solving them faster. This is on one hand.

On the other hand a feeling of impatience and displeasure has appeared because the processes of renewal are supposedly proceeding too slowly.

In and of itself, a sense of dissatisfaction with what has been accomplished, and the desire to move forward faster are natural, of course, there is nothing prejudicial about such a feeling. But the problem is that some people try to speculate on this feeling, suggesting the idea that the problems that have arisen in socialist soil are generally difficult to solve, and therefore should we cling so hard to socialist values, is it not about time to think about categorically borrowing political, economic and moral values from the West?

The party offers a clear and unambiguous answer to all of these questions and doubts: Without our society's renewal, sliding into a deep crisis is inevitable, and there is no hand strong enough, there are no borrowed values high enough to stop this fatal slide. We have made our historical choice. It was made by the people, and it remains irreversible.

Socialism has come nowhere close to revealing its potentials as a social structure. Serious distortions of its principles kept this from happening in previous stages. By decisively ridding ourselves of these distortions and imparting modern forms of social organization to socialism, we will necessarily rise to a higher level of social, economic and spiritual development.

But a titanic effort must be carried out for this to happen: We need to turn the face of our system directly toward the people, we need to free it of dictatorial and administrative forms of management, we need to implement radical reform of the economy and the political system and deep democratization of all aspects of life, we need to completely surmount alienation of the individual from public property, political power and spiritual values, and we need to restore the people's feeling of human worth, their feeling of being sovereign master of one's country.

As M. S. Gorbachev said at a meeting with laborers in Kiev, the structure must serve the individual, rather the individual serving the structure. This is a succinct and general statement of the changes being undertaken.

We are confident that restructuring is the sole valid and dependable path into the future. And everyone to whom our society, the republic, their corner and their city, their town, their country are precious must unite about the restructuring program, and work on its fulfillment with both hands.

The platform the party constructed for the elections is explained thoroughly in the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the party and Soviet people. This platform is distinguished by faithfulness to the course proclaimed in April 1985. It serves the interests of the people, of all classes and social groups of our society, all nations and nationalities, the interests of every Soviet citizen.

Comrades! The "hottest" problems—those of the economy's development and the welfare of the Soviet people—stand at the center of the debates being carried on in the framework of this election campaign. Various opinions are being stated—some of them not very optimistic, I must say, and much advice as to what to do next is being offered.

What can be said in this regard? Yes, the period of socioeconomic development in which we are living is very important and critical. It is associated with many difficulties and contradictions. First of all because an enormous launching force is required in order to surmount the force of inertia that has accumulated in the years of stagnation, in order to switch the huge national economy from one mode of operation to another.

Another difficulty is that we have to simultaneously solve an entire complex of highly important problems associated with restructuring the economy (there is simply no other recourse).

This includes reorienting the economy toward social goals, toward satisfaction of the needs of the individual, which involves profound structural changes and priority development of production of consumer goods, services, public health, education and housing construction.

It includes acceleration of scientific and technical progress so as to surmount our backwardness in this sphere and attain the highest world level in the shortest possible time.

It includes fundamental change of the quality of economic growth, rejection of its orientation on gross quantitative indicators, and transfer of emphasis to resource conservation, to effectiveness in the broadest meaning of this word.

It includes radical economic reform, decisive democratization of the economy's management, and restoration of the individual's role as a proprietor of production.

Each of these problems requires great effort, considerable resources and, finally, time. The desired return in the sense of raising the people's standard of living cannot be achieved right away, though this goal is at the basis of all of these processes, and unites them into a single whole.

If we consider the economy as a whole, in all of the diversity of the processes of its restructuring, we could confidently assert that not only are progressive changes making themselves known, but also they are producing certain results.

Let me turn attention to one simple but very indicative point. For the first time in the history of the Soviet economy the number of workers employed in industry and in the entire sphere of material production has begun experiencing an absolute decrease. And concurrently the rate of growth of production has risen.

This change is a sign that our economy has embarked upon a new stage of its development. It occurred in Western countries 10-15 years ago. Now it is becoming a reality for us as well, opening up the possibility for accelerated development of the nonproductive sphere.

There has been some movement in the last 2 years in housing construction and in development of public services. More food and industrial goods are being produced than before. This is confirmed by objective data, including for your republic.

A reasonable question arises: How is it that the leaders speak of increases, but the people never see them? Are they not exaggerating things, and engaging in the usual deception? No, comrades, both the growth of production and the natural dissatisfaction and displeasure of the people with the condition of our store shelves are obvious. How do we explain this?

First of all by the fact that the changes that have started to occur in the economy are not yet producing their end results, they are not yet improving things in the social sphere. Much is lost in various intermediate stages due to mismanagement, waste and low quality.

And second, the increase in production of consumer goods and services has been devalued due to the imbalance and disorder of the marketplace, and persistence of shortages.

This brings us to one of the main and most burning problems of today's economic situation—that of the imbalance of the marketplace, of disturbance of the country's monetary circulation and financial management. This is not a new problem—it was inherited from the period of stagnation, at the time when liquid income decreased and the flow of currency that inundated the country following the sharp growth in oil prices in the 1970s in the world market began ebbing.

For the sake of justice it must be said that proper measures aimed at changing the situation for the better were not implemented in recent years either. Moreover the situation was made even more complex in connection with the unjustifiably high growth of wages in comparison with growth of labor productivity. More goods are being injected into the market, but the growing stream of money flushes them right off the store shelves.

We need to seriously change economic priorities, and place emphasis on normalizing the consumer market and improving the national economy's financial situation. Decisions have been made in this regard following careful discussion. We are counting on many things—on making major strides in increasing consumer goods and services for the public, reducing the number of construction starts, decisively reducing unfinished construction, curtailing management expenditures further, seriously correcting our foreign trade policy and, finally, achieving a major decrease in defense expenditures without detriment to the country's defense capabilities.

We have already spoken to no small length about the need for the strictest economy. We have not economized words about economy. But we no longer can put things off with words alone. Life forcefully compels us to analyze all components of our economic system through the prism of economy, of raising the effectiveness of expenditures.

The complex mutual relationship between positive and negative economic processes can also be seen well in the example of your republic. In recent years your production and labor productivity have been growing in industry, and in relation to many of the most important indicators the republic has completed the targets of the five-year plan. Production of consumer goods is rising.

This is one trend, an encouraging one. But here is another kind: Capital investments are increasing at a high rate, but introduction of fixed capital is behind. Last year it was 7 percent lower than in 1987. This means that increasingly greater assets are idling in unfinished construction and in enterprises not yet fully built. Money is in a sense being buried "alive." Moreover that which does get built cannot always be utilized to full output. It is sufficient to point out that the productive capacities introduced in the first years of the five-year plan are working at only 80 percent.

And finally, one more thing. The wages of blue and white collar workers increased last year in the republic by 9.1 percent, while labor productivity increased by only 6.3 percent. Once again a conflict! So it is that wages are rising, but it is becoming increasingly more difficult to buy anything in the stores.

Now about the economic reform. Many decisions have been made, and many things have been done. But we are essentially only just beginning to approach the main issue—transforming the relations of socialist ownership.

This process is not traveling an easy road either. Consider the debates that are raging about leases and cooperatives. And this is only the beginning.

It is only through profound transformations of ownership that we can solve today's most urgent problem—food. A CPSU Central Committee plenum has been planned for this month. It will examine radical measures for fundamentally restructuring economic relations in the economy's agroindustrial sector. It is to produce a specific program foreseeing comprehensive organizational, economic, material and technical support to such restructuring.

All obstacles must be swept from the road of utilizing the most effective methods and forms of agricultural production. For the moment we know of many examples where people who have gone over to leasing and family contracts have had to deal with bureaucratic malice, with attempts at destroying equipment and farm structures belonging to them, and with envious persons who have become accustomed to wage leveling and parasitism.

Nor of course should we tolerate artificial, violent imposition of new forms of organizing agricultural production and, equally so, attempts at far-fetched innovations, at artificial "transformation" of ways of doing things that have already justified themselves. Those who demonstrate the highest results and march in the vanguard of the changes must be supported with all of the power of party influence.

Deepening of the economic transformations started earlier compels us to rethink again and again their relationship to the fundamental principles of socialism and Marxist-Leninist theory. After all, resistance to restructuring the economy and hostility toward the changes are often obscured by moss-covered, dogmatic ideas and ritualistic references to lofty concepts, to which the real needs and requirements of the people are sacrificed.

One must be a hopeless doctrinaire in order to formally interpret the broader limits of collectivization of ownership—irrespective of the nature and forms of production relations, be they cost accounting, leasing, cooperation or contracts, making it possible for people to arrive at a real evaluation of their own work—as a higher level in the development of production. I would call this nothing more than scholastic socialism. Has it not been on the basis of impersonalized ownership that its utilization for the purposes of personal gain has flourished, and an attitude toward it as something not belonging to anyone has rooted itself?

This is something we want to get away from. The ownership of property by the laborers should not be simply declared. It must be materialized in a real economic process, in real unification of the individual with the implements of production, in a direct dependence between his income and the results of production, in the

individual's real participation in production management. Only in this way will we be able to demolish the foundations of wage leveling and parasitism, and ensure the individual's position as a sovereign proprietor. This is movement forward toward socialist ideals.

It is also sometimes said that the marketplace is incompatible with socialism.

Well, let's sort things out. I see no sensible reasons for rejecting the possibilities of the marketplace for the sole reason that it was inherited from the past.

The marketplace may be built into the most diverse socioeconomic systems, and effectively support their function. It is a flexible implement by which to coordinate economic activity, one ensuring a rapid reaction of production to changing demand, and providing effective stimuli for effective management. Attempts at doing without it in the name of the "purity of the socialist idea" inevitably carry the cost of a swelling bureaucratic apparatus, dominance of the supplier over the consumer, and flourishing of monopolies. Only by establishing an actively functioning marketplace can we relieve higher management organs of the need for resolving thousands upon thousands of current economic issues daily, and focus their attention on things that are strategically important.

Transition from certain methods to others is always very difficult. Great is the temptation to react to new, acute problems in the usual way, to go backward, to the times of willful dictatorship and cheerful reports concealing mismanagement and irresponsibility. Such backward movement is absolutely unacceptable. There is only the difficult, untrodden path of deepening reform—it is the only path on which we can solve the problems facing the country.

Comrades! We are also living through an important period in reform of our society's political system in accordance with decisions adopted by the 19th Party Conference.

The elections, and the Congress of Peoples Deputies after them, which will formulate a new system of central state organs, will complete the first stage of the reform. It is to be followed by a second stage, in the course of which relations between the center and the republics will be reconciled, and state organs in the union and autonomous republics, in the krais and in the oblasts, cities and rayons will be restructured.

You of course understand that the line drawn between these two stages is extremely arbitrary. Specifically, we have been deeply drawn into the second stage for a long time already, and we are intensively working on its principal problems.

The draft of the basic principles of republic cost accounting will be published soon for discussion by everyone. The draft Law on Local Self-Management and Local Economics is being prepared with the participation of deputies, soviet executives and legal scientists. A package of draft laws on the key problems of improving the Soviet Socialist Federation and reinforcing the sovereignty of the union republics and the legal status of autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs is proceeding on the basis of the proposals coming in and analysis of the debates going on in the country. Serious scientific work on the corresponding problems has begun.

Reform of the political system would be unimaginable without profound changes in the life of the party itself. Specifically, these changes are the core of the political reform. In a society undergoing renewal, the party must also undergo renewal, and act as the political vanguard, imparting the general orientation to development, though not as the force which directly controls any and all things. Only in this case would sovereignty of the soviets and the full-fledged activity of all social structures and organizations, their initiative and, at the same time, their responsibility before the people, before society, be realized.

We have already made the first steps in the development of intraparty democracy. The content and methods of party activity itself are changing. It is being oriented more and more on political, ideological and organizational work in the masses.

Of course, this transition is not a simple one. It is not materializing for everyone, but it is necessary. The party must learn to live and work in a society permeated by democratic principles, in a society in which a tumultuous process of politicization of the masses is proceeding, in a society in which other public organizations and movements are operating as well.

After analyzing the situation that has evolved in the country, and the lessons of the past, the party accepted the main burden of the responsibility for the mistakes that had been made, for solving the urgent problems, and for leading the country out of its precrisis situation toward the wide horizons of social progress. It has essentially drawn fire onto itself, and it is conducting an honest, open and serious dialogue with the society on the most acute problems of the past and present, viewing this to be the norm of our life.

Unfortunately attempts to sow mistrust in the party, to cast a shadow over the program that has developed and over the practical measures it is undertaking, have grown more frequent in this dialogue. The idea that democratization is somehow fatalistically impossible in the conditions of a one-party system is being tossed around.

But this is not changing the overall pattern of the broadest popular support for party policy. It is no accident that the proportion of communists among nominated and registered candidates for peoples deputies increased spontaneously and, at the same time, quite significantly in the present, more democratic, unstaged election campaign.

Nonetheless it would be wrong not to take note of even the isolated skeptical, and sometimes even cynical voices concerning the party, concerning this issue, so fundamentally important to our society.

In this connection I would like to once again emphasize the following. The party began the restructuring effort, and it is fully resolved to firmly and consistently implement it, creating step by step the new face of socialist society, one turned in the direction of the man of labor. The party is the principal motive force and principal guarantee of restructuring. Without its guiding and leading role, it would be impossible to imagine our society's renewal.

As far as the multiparty system problem is concerned, I have presented my views on this on several occasions. Both theory and real historical experience reveal sufficiently clearly that the number of parties has nothing to do with the degree of democracy in a given society, and a one-party system, which is not a mandatory attribute of socialism, is not at all in contradiction to it either.

A one-party system is not at all a synonym of reinforced-concrete monolithism, of unification, of uniformity. Our society has never been a gray, faceless mass. And all the more so it is not one today.

There is full possibility in our society for creating a broad, branching system of public institutions and organizations and associations which would adequately and flexibly express the multiplicity of healthy social, professional, age-related and other interests. If the party is under the democratic control of the people, if it constantly maintains a dialogue with the public, and if it itself organizes its activities on democratic principles, there is full possibility for solving all problems through critical analysis, comparison of views and struggle of opinions.

As we know, there has recently been swift development of the forms of independent action by the public, of various sorts of movements, and of informal associations which are entering the mainstream of social life. This is a unique sort of reaction to the former artificial facade of public organizations, and an expression of profound processes of democratization.

But of course, not everything is going our way. Absence of experience, traditions and stable political culture is responsible for a certain unpreparedness of both the participants of such movements, and sometimes their leaders as well, for the democratic norms of life, for the new forms of democracy.

The party is open both to internal debate and to discussion of all issues with all public organizations and movements, and of the masses who are not party members. But this presupposes clearly distinguishing false antisocial attitudes and, all the more so, extremist actions—imposition of views alien to the interests of the laborers and attempts at resorting to the methods of pressure and dictatorship and sowing enmity and mistrust under the guise of democracy—from healthy principles.

We are faced by many complex and important matters. And if we are unable to unite all healthy forces and orient them on creative tasks, if the interests of the country as a whole are supplanted by the interests of particular groups, strata and clans, and if ambitions begin to overshadow responsibility, and unrestrained feelings begin to shout the voice of reason, incontestable harm may be done to restructuring.

The party does not claim a monopoly in seeking the best ways of social progress; it does not feel that it possesses the ultimate truth, and it invites all laborers, all organizations to public dialogue. But communists do have something that they must defend firmly and unswervingly: our socialist values, our choice of socialism, our adherence to the ideas of social justice and ensuring the best life for all Soviet people.

In the conditions of restructuring and growth of the social activity and public independent action of the people, new requirements are also being imposed on ideological work. And of course, primarily on those who administer it.

I may be accused of being trite, but I will nonetheless say that the significance of ideological work is growing significantly.

The turn of society toward the individual, toward his interests and needs, reveals even more the significance of education, science and culture as the most important spheres of social activity, ones in which spiritual values are created and the society's intellectual potential is enriched. It would be difficult in this connection to overstate the significance of the turn toward priority development of the social sphere that was initiated by our party, the success of which depends on our common effort.

But there is more to this. The role of the ideological factor in solving all other problems is growing in the conditions of restructuring. According to our Marxist views, this role has always been important. After all, in order that an idea would transform into a material force, it must be assimilated by the consciousness of the masses.

Before, in the time of dominance of administrative and dictatorial methods, matters stood like this: A decision was worked out and adopted in executive organs, and

then in the best case its so-called ideological support was organized. Essentially, ideological work only eased transmission of commands, and predominantly just in one direction at that—from the top down.

Today this kind of system of ideological activity, which evolved in the past and which is tightly associated with the administrative dictatorial mechanism of management, has outlived its time.

In the conditions of glasnost and openness, no decision of any importance in economics, social development, ecology and scientific and technical progress can be adopted without concern for public opinion, and all the more so in spite of it. It would be sufficient to cite the tumultuous and varied but very meaningful and effective reaction of the public to problems such as development of the cooperative movement, solution of a number of ecological problems, the prospects of reforming the price forming system, and many others.

What is the conclusion from this? It is that each decision requires not only meticulous scientific justification, but also—and not in last place—formation of public opinion in the needed direction, and reliance upon it. Thus ideological work is organically interwoven into the management of social processes, and it is becoming one of its main factors. The monologue so typical of ideological work in the past is being displaced today by broad public dialogue. A one-sided relationship from top down is being replaced by a two-way relationship possessing a return flow of information reflecting the opinion of the people, their will and their collective reason.

Management of the ideological process itself is also experiencing fundamental change. Employment of dictatorial methods, of the methods of permission-prohibition, is excluded all the more so in this area. To issue instructions, to exert pressure, to permit something and prohibit something else—ideological work cannot be oriented on such methods. It must rely on the power of persuasion, on arguments, on political influence.

Participation in open discussion with the people, in political struggle, in principled defense of the positions and opinions of the party is now becoming the content of ideological education and party propaganda, and not implementation of certain routine propagandistic measures. An entirely new, most favorable field of activity is opening up for all who have long been called the warriors of the ideological front, and who are truly becoming such warriors only today.

The present state of the ideological sphere is such that in the press, on television and in meetings we observe a broad spectrum of opinions, arguments and points of view on different issues. Understandably the attitude toward the latter varies as well. Many things elicit a negative reaction from a given faction of the population, and displeasure in certain published statements and one-sided critical materials on particular phenomena of

today, and especially of the historical past. Certain executives do not show delight, to put it mildly, in criticism directed at them, which is sometimes rather acute.

Voices are raised in this connection which are sometimes very insistent, demanding imposition of a prohibition and establishment of more rigid control. And the motives seem to be the most noble in this case.

Of course, comrades, when the discussion turns to attempts at attacking the principal tenets of our structure, at overstepping constitutional norms, there can be no ambiguity of opinion. Throughout the entire world, the law prevails in such cases. We are now writing a law on the press. Its draft will be submitted for broad discussion, and following its adoption it will determine the general limits of the freedom of the press, and create the legal principles of regulating relations between the press and state and public organizations and individual citizens. It will serve as an obstacle to incorrect information, to penetration of irresponsible statements, immorality, possible slights of human worth and so on into the pages of the newspapers and journals and onto television screens.

But this does not mean that with adoption of the law, all problems will be solved, and we will be able to abandon party influence upon the mass media.

The civic and party position of the editor, journalist and publicist is acquiring increasingly greater significance. And the party committees must work better with the mass media—supporting all that is healthy, valuable and critical, and all that is directed at supporting the effort, and meting out punishment for manifestations of irresponsibility, unscrupulousness and deviation from journalist ethics.

It is another matter that party influence and management should be based on other resources—not on suppression, prohibition and excommunication, but on maximum completeness of information, persuasive argumentation, critical response to one-sided assessments and judgments, a persistent search for the truth, and meticulous explanation and persuasion. Only by this means can we gain the support of public opinion, and orient it on carrying out constructive tasks.

Recently, especially since the moment of formation of the Central Committee's Ideological Commission, various opinions have been suggested in various circles in our community and abroad concerning where ideological work is to go next, and what changes we can anticipate in it.

Different things can be sensed in these opinions. Some harbor anticipation and even a unique sort of triumphant confidence: that you'll not get anywhere, that

sooner or later you'll be forced to say that you lost the glasnost game, and that's enough, and you'll return to the old ways. Among others, on the other hand, this elicits apprehension and caution.

I have already spoken out on this issue. I can once again confirm the following: Ideological work is called upon today to more effectively support restructuring, its defense and deepening of its basic directions and, most importantly, its practical implementation. And this means that we will continue to travel the path of democratization of ideological processes, and expansion and deepening of glasnost and socialist pluralism of opinions. But I mean socialist pluralism, the criteria of which are the interests of the people and faithfulness to the socialist choice, to Lenin's ideological and theoretical legacy, to international unity and friendship of the peoples of our country. Such are the lines from which we will lead our ideological work.

Important steps have been undertaken recently to widen the sphere of informative activity, to develop glasnost.

All restrictions on subscriptions have been repealed, and I will not return to this issue any more.

A number of new publications have gone into print since the new year. They are significantly changing the information situation, enriching it. I would cite the journal *IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS* in this connection first of all. It is the source of information and a symbol of glasnost in relation to our intraparty, general political affairs, and in relation to the history of the party and the country. Moreover this is not second-hand information—it comes directly from source documents.

PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK is also now being printed as the official publication of the USSR Council of Ministers. *UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA* has been transformed into a publication of the CPSU Central Committee, and a new weekly, *NAUKA I VUZY*, was established. Measures to develop the local press are being supported as well.

But of course, the most complex problems lie in the sphere of the practical activities of the mass media. Although in recent times they have turned somewhat toward today's urgent problems of restructuring, this reorientation is creaking along too slowly. This pertains both to our central publications, and perhaps to no lesser degree, and maybe even to a greater degree, to local publications.

A real turn toward constructive tasks, toward seeking solutions to urgent problems, toward assimilating new strata of life—these are the things we need primarily today.

It would of course be most wrong to interpret these words as an appeal to curtail the analysis of the historical past. Or as generally putting the brakes on criticism. As

with restoring justice in relation to the victims of lawlessness, the work of filling in the "blank pages" of history must be and will be continued. The only issue is that natural, noble emotions should not lead to a one-sided vision of history, that as we reveal the pages of history we do not substitute one half-truth by another.

The principal landmarks in this work were provided in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The writing of the "Ocherki istorii KPSS" [Notes on the History of the CPSU] has been initiated. This work is to be based on a strictly factual foundation, on new, previously unknown materials that have been put into circulation, and at the same time it is to reflect today's ideas on socialism and the historical process.

There is one other exceptionally important task facing all of our ideological front, and the entire party—developing a modern conception of socialism. This does not of course mean describing what target we will reach, when and how. It means progress in conceptualizing the philosophical and methodological problems of the development of socialism, possessing a foundation of major economic and social ideas having a lasting future, and developing the goals of socialist society, thus creating the conditions for attaining ever-higher stories of social consciousness.

A living relationship between central ideological organs and institutions on one hand and local party organizations on the other is an important prerequisite of the success of ideological work.

I dare say that active ideological workers have made a number of steps in this direction. We have sharply reduced our indebtedness, conducting several meetings with secretaries and directors of ideological departments of republic communist party central committees and kray and oblast committees. The Ideological Commission is joining the effort to interpret the ideological process, and analyze and develop proposals for the Politburo. Now that the work of organizing the party apparatus has been completed, ties between the center and local organizations have become more mobile. We will increase the size of this effort.

There is one thing I would like to repeat once again. In all of our work we are obliged to increase our ideological support to restructuring. We need to give more attention to the most complex and most acute problems of the day. More attention to the concrete experience in increasing the activity of laborers in the restructuring effort. More attention to satisfying the people's urgent needs. More attention to the causes of inhibition of restructuring, and their elimination.

Comrades! The problems of interethnic relations now occupy a special place in the course of restructuring and renewal of our society, and naturally in the party's activity.

In an atmosphere of glasnost, democratization and dramatically higher social activity of the people, the problems that have accumulated in this area have erupted to the surface as well. Most acute among them are perhaps the language problem, republic cost accounting and preservation of the natural environment.

Restructuring has meant the rejection of the big-power opinion that concern for a national language is something suspicious or even nationalistic, and the notion that having fewer languages is supposedly both "more progressive" and "more convenient." Our basic program is to allow the broadest avenue for the objective processes of development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, and to support this development with guarantees—legal, political, economic and social, without permitting any kind of administrative pressure.

We cannot of course solve the problems of one national language in this case at the expense of another, at the expense of isolating one culture from another. Could there possibly be a people who would voluntarily long for seclusion, for self-isolation? No, of course not. All peoples experience a natural and urgent need not only to appear before other peoples in the colors of their national culture, but also to know the surrounding world, to communicate with it, to deepen creative contacts and to have free access to the spiritual potential of all mankind.

The problems of economic relations between republics and between the republics and the center, and the problems of republic cost accounting are being discussed extensively today.

Until a certain time in our history the "melting pot" principle dominated in relations between republics. I am not about to uncircumspectly debunk this principle, given all the minuses and shortcomings that we have revealed in it today. We need to approach it concretely—historically and dialectically. In its time, the principle of pooling forces made it possible to redistribute economic resources between the country's regions and republics on an enormous scale, and helped to solve many serious problems, chiefly in surmounting the economic and social backwardness of a number of ethnic republics and oblasts.

Your republic attained enormous accomplishments as well. With the help of the entire country, in the postwar period Belorussia rose from the ruins, it was actually rebuilt anew, it climbed to the most modern level, and it is playing a large, increasing role in the union-wide national economic complex. It may therefore be that the concept of Soviet internationalism has special weight, material weight I would say, here on Belorussian soil.

It is our basic belief that introduction of republic cost accounting is a requirement of the times, of the laws of economic development. The income of the republic and its possibilities for improving the life of the people must

depend directly on the effectiveness of the work of enterprises and organizations located on its territory. We are in favor of such logic, and we believe that it is the logic of life, the logic of restructuring.

But of course this must not lead to regional isolation, to autarky, to work only for oneself. Moreover it would be impossible to curtail, and break all the more so, the economic ties that have evolved. This would contradict both our internal interests and the dominant trends of modern world economic, scientific and technical development.

The problem of protecting the environment is making itself known practically everywhere. Ecological problems are also acute in your republic, in Belorussia. There is a unique sort of reference point in this regard, a kind of focus for all of that which is the most dramatic in regard to this problem. I am referring to Chernobyl.

It left deep scars on the land of two neighboring republics that are just beginning to heal. But they will soon heal. The country's leadership holds these problems close to its heart, constantly within its field of vision. You of course know that during his visit to Chernobyl M. S. Gorbachev also passed through Gomel Oblast, which had suffered from the terrible disaster. Major steps are being taken to finally surmount the consequences of Chernobyl, and exclude the possibility itself of such a disaster anywhere.

Public opinion is maintaining firm pressure today on economic and planning organs in regard to construction of national economic facilities involving a potential risk of damage to the environment and the health of the people. We relate with understanding to the things that concern citizens and representatives of the intelligentsia and the public at large in this regard.

At the same time I would like to turn your attention to this: It is not a rarity today for protests to occur against almost any industrial construction in "one's own backyard." Clearly every decision must be scientifically substantiated and weighted, and all parties must exhibit the strictest responsibility—both those who are responsible for locating and building industrial enterprises and power plants, and those who assume the role of a correcting force. But one thing is absolutely clear: You can't build a modern economy out of windmills. This means we need joint work, mutual assistance. And of course, ecological problems should not be allowed to rise to the plane of social and international conflicts. This is not going to help either living nature or people.

Preparations are now under way for a Central Committee plenum on the problems of interethnic relations. There is much work to do, and a thorough analysis to be conducted. We must of course consolidate all that has been achieved, and what is helping to ensure equality of

ethnic groups and nationalities, strengthen fraternal relations between peoples and promote interethnic education of laborers. And at the same time we need to determine the basic ways of solving the accumulated problems.

It is our basic belief that making national demands and expressing national will are a normal process. The only thing that is important is for one ethnic group not to be juxtaposed against another; the goal of obtaining national privileges at the expense of other peoples must not be pursued.

The party is convinced that real rectification of the situation in regard to the ethnic issue is inseparable from restructuring, and impossible without it. But restructuring cannot be accomplished without cooperation, interaction and unity of the peoples of our country either.

Comrades! We have begun restructuring, placing all processes of the individual's renewal in center stage. The priority of general human values and the common historical destiny of mankind determine our approach to the problems of world development as well. This is the core of our new political thinking, which was born of restructuring and which has become an international phenomenon.

The first and foremost concern behind it is that of relieving the world of the nightmare of nuclear self-annihilation and an exhaustive arms race.

It is based on the fact of the growing interdependence of the modern world, the need for uniting effort in the name of future world civilization, in the name of solving so-called global problems—ecology, energy, hunger and disease.

It is based on deep analysis of the place of socialism in the modern world, and of its possibilities and objectives.

Our ideas on the nature of relations between the two systems, about their peaceful coexistence, have undergone very complex and lengthy evolution.

We have traveled a path from ideas according to which the entire planet is standing "at the threshold of a world proletarian revolution" to ideas of peaceful coexistence of two systems as a fundamental law of the era.

From a vision of the world as being separated into two hostile, opposing camps, to recognition of a world full of national and social diversity, to the need for interaction between the two systems within the framework of human civilization as a whole, a complex form of interaction in the course of which competition occurs, fundamental values undergo mutual testing, and the capability of each of the systems for solving its own problems and those of all mankind are revealed.

V. I. Lenin said that we cannot solve specific practical problems without clarifying the general ones. An analysis carried out by the party and the new way of political thinking formulated as a result of it have made it possible to begin pursuing an active, purposeful foreign policy.

Today, evaluating what has been done, each of us notes with satisfaction that contemporary Soviet foreign policy has worked well, and it continues to work well for peace and peaceful coexistence. The threat of nuclear war has been pushed aside, and mutual understanding and trust between the East and the West have grown stronger. The first steps have been made along the path of real disarmament. Hopeful signs of resolving regional conflicts are beginning to appear.

On this background our country's international position has grown noticeably stronger. We have improved our relations with many states, and have not worsened them with any of them.

Soviet-American dialogue has acquired new traits, creating a turning point in the entire world process. Both countries unanimously agreed for the first time that the world is becoming safe not because of accumulation of arms, but owing to their annihilation.

This conclusion cannot fit any better into the conception of the "all-European house." The key link of the military-political aspect of this conception, which was proposed by our country, foresees military relaxation and stability in Europe, arrived at through dramatic reduction of the military potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact from the Atlantic to the Ural. The new way of political thinking has also been practically embodied in unilateral troop and arms reduction by the USSR and its allies.

Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has enormous significance. Soviet soldiers have returned home. But Afghanistan remains our neighbor, we are interested in its stability and welfare, we will do everything in its behalf, and we appeal to other states to act in the same spirit.

One of the most important results was development of relations with China. We are two large socialist powers living side by side, and naturally, full-fledged good-neighbor, friendly Sino-Soviet relations would be to the benefit of both the peoples of our countries and the peoples of the whole world. There are all the grounds for hoping that Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to this country will become a landmark event in this aspect.

You will agree, I think, that if we were to limit just to this the list of the important changes that have occurred in the world and in our relations with other states, this itself would be an impressive result. But the essence of the changes occurring today is even more significant. We know that in the history of our country, and not so long

ago at that, there were periods when relations with other countries did improve, and important treaties were signed in the area of security. Today we are talking about something bigger.

Perhaps for the first time in many years we have taken steps toward peace and strengthened our security not owing to growth of military power, not by overstressing our forces and increasing our outlays on defense. We did this by initiating a reduction of armed forces and arms, by reducing military expenditures, and by starting the conversion of some defense production to civilian needs.

And there is more: The changes that are occurring today are opening up prospects for establishing relations between states with different social structures on a deeper foundation than before. Economic cooperation is being activated, and cultural exchange, communication between people, and all that is implied by the concept "humanitarian cooperation" are acquiring new proportions.

This also fits within our understanding of the modern conception of socialism. We are discarding the narrowly understood class approach according to which "Those who are not with us are against us." We are rehabilitating Lenin's understanding of socialism—as a natural stage in the development of civilization, as the heir of all the best that has been accumulated and is being accumulated by mankind, as a teaching that arose, speaking in the words of Vladimir Ilich, that is not off of the main road of civilization.

This understanding of ourselves, this relationship of ours to the world and to the experience accumulated by friends, this consideration of the positive changes that have occurred in the nonsocialist world as well, is yet another highly important distinguishing feature of our modern approach. Of course, we do not share the ideas that by taking a little from capitalism and a little from socialism, we could combine them together, integrate them. These are naive illusions. But to discard everything that has been achieved outside our socialist civilization would mean decelerating its progress as well.

In the final analysis socialism must be the highest socialist structure in all of its basic parameters. These are the goals that the restructuring and renewal initiated by our party serve. Our domestic and foreign policy is fully consistent with these goals.

Comrades! The forthcoming elections of peoples deputies and the entire election campaign will doubtlessly teach us a great deal, and even now they are already teaching us. This is a serious political school, a school of democracy. A school both for executives of all ranks and for all citizens. Every Soviet individual is receiving a real possibility for influencing the destiny of the country, and of our entire Union.

It is clear today that there are no supporting actors among either the voters or the candidates for peoples deputies. Today all of them are playing leading roles in democracy and restructuring. Every voice in these elections is a decisive voice.

Let your choice also be the best for the country, for the people, for our future.

With all my soul I wish you and all laborers of the republic the creative energy, strength and health to continually push the noble effort of restructuring of our society forward. The best to all of you, dear comrades!

BSSR First Secretary Addresses Candidates on Ecology, Other Issues

18000788 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[Article under "To Meet the Elections" rubric: "We Need To Seek Optimal Solutions"]

[Text] The Drogichinskiy Rayon has made a noticeable surge in socioeconomic development during the last few years. For example, the profitability of agricultural production here has exceeded 50 percent, which is one of the best indicators in this republic. A considerable amount of housing, as well as social, cultural, and everyday-service facilities, have been built, and the cultural living standards of the village inhabitants is changing. Nevertheless, it was not with reports but rather with the disturbing problems of the present-day stage of perestroika that representatives of the city and rayon labor collectives came to a meeting with Ye.Ye. Sokolov, a candidate for USSR people's deputy. After highly appraising their candidate's businesslike and human qualities, they conveyed some specific mandates to him and expressed their own viewpoints on various problems of public life.

"Above all, we are concerned by the fact that living conditions and everyday matters are worse in the rural areas than they are in the city," stated Vladimir Piven, chairman of the Rassvet Kolkhoz. "And the lack of building materials does not allow us to narrow this gap to any noticeable degree. The quality of the equipment we use cannot stand up to any criticism, but, for some odd reason, the price of it has shot up sharply. On many farms live-stock is being kept too long because of insufficient capacities on the part of the meat-packing combines, thus bringing about considerable losses.

Acute problems of improving the public education system were touched upon in his statement by Aleksey Nikonchuk, director of the Drogichensk Secondary School No 1. He noted, in particular, that pedagogical science can in no way determine its own place under the new conditions. As was the case before, the school does not have sufficient funds; there is no possibility to provide incentives for interesting finds by innovative pedagogues. And there are quite a few other problems.

"We are very disturbed," the speaker emphasized, "by the activities of individual, informal movements. It's not even a matter of the movements per se; good deeds for the benefit of society will always be supported. What is bad is that many of them consider their own viewpoint to be the only correct one; they declare the exclusive rights of some to the detriment of our other fellow-citizens. But, of course, we absolutely need to have complete equality of rights and unity among all nationalities, of which we have about 100 in our republic."

Good memories of working together with this candidate for deputy, who at one time headed up the neighboring rayon's party organization, have remained for the pensioner Yelena Brukhan. Like other speakers, she called upon all the voters to cast their ballots for Ye.Ye. Sokolov on election day, and she talked about one of the main problems which is now bothering every inhabitant of the Drogichinskiy Rayon.

"Several years ago a biochemical plant began to be built in the city," Yelena Aleksandrovna said. "It can be stated with confidence that there is nobody in the hall today who has not been disturbed by the ecological situation in this connection. According to the conclusions of many scientists, the production of antibiotics at this enterprise will have a negative effect on people's health and on the environment. Moreover, the water problem in the city is already becoming acute. And the plant would consume 6,000 cubic meters of water daily. But despite everything, the bureaucrats from the ministries and departments are motivated by an interest in erecting such a production facility. But why build something that could bring misfortune upon people? Wouldn't it be better to channel these funds into strengthening the base for processing agricultural products or to manufacture medical equipment, which is in short supply?"

The statements made by Andrey Vakulchik, electric welder at the tractor-repair plant; Vladimir Meleshkevich, the rayon's chief physician; and Valentina Grazhevskaya, chairperson of the Drogichinskiy Sovkhoz's trade-union committee, brought up the following matters: interrelations between enterprises and higher-ranking organs, the struggle against drunkenness, the problems of organizing children's food service and improving the rural service sphere.

In speaking at the meeting, Ye.Ye. Sokolov emphasized that his pre-election platform was based upon the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 30th Belorussian CP Congress, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Today we have quite a few sectors where special measures need to be undertaken. The most important problem is that of restructuring the rural area. The task of bringing the lives of city-dwellers and rural inhabitants closer together has been assigned, as well as that of getting away from low-productive work. For this purpose, we need to build a great deal. Our republic is

implementing a program for the accelerated development of the construction industry's base; this will allow us to fundamentally eliminate this extremely acute problem. We have begun to be more seriously engaged in improving the layout and construction of villages. Some resources have been taken from the construction of Union- and republic-level highways and channeled into paving village streets with asphalt.

Ye.Ye. Sokolov further noted that the problem of electric-power engineering had become acute in this republic. Since nuclear power plants will not be built in Belorussia, it has been decided to double the capacities of the Berezovskaya and Lukomilskaya GRES's [state regional electric power plants]. At the same time, for example, the Berezovskaya Electric Power Plant is the source of one-third of all the harmful emissions in the Brest area. We must quickly find an optimal solution to this problem. As to the biochemical plant now under construction in Drogichinsk, we need to have a balanced and scientifically grounded approach here. On the one hand, this enterprise will bring to the city natural gas, an integrated boiler and utilities system, housing, as well as social, cultural, and everyday-service facilities. On the other hand, people are disturbed by the ecological consequences of production. Expert commissions are working at the Union- and republic-levels. Moreover, at a recent session of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro it was decided to create a special commission of our own, to include four representatives of the Drogichenskiy Rayon. A final decision will be made in the next few months. If it turns out that production will, even to the slightest degree, negatively affect people's health, it will definitely be reshaped. I want to say this today and assume full responsibility for doing so.

After replying to other questions from the voters, Ye.Ye. Sokolov warmly thanked them for the trust placed in him, and he assured them that he would do everything possible to justify it.

**Belorussian CP CC Discusses Afghan Vets,
Rehabilitates Purge Victims**
*18000753 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Belorussian Communist Party CC Buro"]

[Text] At its regularly scheduled session, the BSSR CP Buro considered the matter of the Osipovich City Party Organization's work on strengthening young people's ideological-moral, patriotic, and international education. It was noted that the gorkom and the primary party organizations are carrying out a restructuring of the work in this area, and are achieving an increase in the young people's role and activity in the rayon's socioeconomic and spiritual life.

At the same time, as was stressed at the session, the educational work with young people still is not meeting the high requirements advanced by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The BSSR CP Gorkom and a number of primary party organizations are inadequately investigating the social and ideological problems occurring in the youth environment. Many leading professional workers of the rayon, the enterprises, and the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not participating in the work with the young people. A useful Komsomol initiative is not always supported, its potential benefits not being considered, which gives rise to feelings of social rejection, indifference, and passivity in an element of the young people. The established Komsomol political training system is likewise of little help to boys and girls in finding answers to the difficult problems posed by life.

The proper concern about improving young people's working, living, and recreational conditions is not being shown. Over 2,000 persons, including 500 young women, are working in conditions that do not meet modern health and hygiene requirements. Cultural-education and physical-education-athletic work is at a low level. Little attention is devoted to the young family's problems. Over half of the divorces occur because of one of the spouses' drunkenness.

The BSSR CP CC Buro declared the work of the Osipovich Party Gorkom (first secretary, M.M. Anikeyev) and the rayon's primary party organizations on the ideological-moral, patriotic, and international education of young people unsatisfactory, and demanded that they correct the existing deficiencies in this work without delay, and ensure further increase in the Komsomol organizations' leading role and authority and in the ideological-moral, cultural, and vocational levels of youthful laborers, kolkhoz workers, specialists, and students. The BSSR CP's Mogilev Obkom and CPSU member V.V. Kudlash (Central Committee, Belorussian Komsomol) were charged with providing the necessary assistance to Osipovichskiy Rayon's party and Komsomol organizations in straightening out this work.

It was proposed that Communists M.I. Demchuk (BSSR Ministry of Education) and A.T. Kichaylo (Mogilev Oblast Ispolkom) look into the matters of opening a vocational-technical school in the rayon and expediting the construction of other public education institutions, to the end that we may, in the next few years, switch to conducting classes in a single shift and fully meet the population's requirements for kindergartens and day-care centers.

Measures, aimed at strengthening the Komsomol's party leadership and stimulating the republic's party and Komsomol organization activity in young people's communist education, were outlined in the BSSR CP CC Buro's resolution.

The BSSR CP CC Buro approved measures to implement the suggestions and criticisms voiced at the BSSR CP CC's meeting with young reserve troops who have done their international duty in the Republic of Afghanistan. The measures provide for further improvement in the material-needs, living-quarters, and pension support of the internationalist troops and the families of the dead, as well as in the medical and cultural services for them, and for granting them additional preferences in obtaining transportation means, building materials, and food and industrial products.

Responsibility for implementing the outlined measures was placed upon CPSU members G.S. Tarazevich (Presidium, BSSR Supreme Soviet), M.V. Kovalev (BSSR Council of Ministers), V.I. Goncharik (Belorussian Council of Trade Unions), V.V. Kudlash (Central Committee, Belorussian Komsomol), and the Communist-executives of the republic's ministries, departments, and organizations, and upon the BSSR CP Obkoms and appropriate departments of the BSSR CP CC.

Materials on the results of the republic's socialist competition for successful fulfillment of the State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1988, presented by the BSSR Council of Ministers, the Belorussian Council of Trade Unions, and the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee, were considered at the session, as well as materials on the results of oblast, rayon, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and other state agricultural enterprise competition for successful fulfillment of Food Program tasks in 1988. The competition winners and the measures for rewarding them were determined. The decisions on these matters will be announced in the press.

The BSSR CP CC Buro adopted a resolution on converting the bulletin PAMYATNIKI ISTORII I KULTURY BELORUSSII [Monuments of Belorussian History and Culture] into the journal SPADCHINA (Heritage)—the organ of the Soviet Cultural Foundation's Belorussian Division and the republic's Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. The journal's publication will begin as of July 1989, in the Belorussian language, and with a periodicity of four issues per year.

The BSSR CP CC Buro, having heard a report from its commission for further study of materials connected with the purges that took place during the period of the 1930's and 1940's and the early 1950's and a report from the BSSR CP CC's Party Control Commission on the results of examining the party membership question concerning certain persons unjustifiably expelled from the party and sentenced to a greater degree of punishment for belonging to a so-called "anti-Soviet, Trotskyist diversionary-terrorist and espionage organization," and later fully rehabilitated by court order, adopted a resolution to reinstate the following (posthumously) in CPSU ranks:

Arabey, Nikolay Leontyevich, who worked, beginning in 1935, as chief of the BSSR CP CC's schools and sciences department, a party member since 1920 (expelled in August 1936);

Zhuravlev, Ivan Gerasimovich, former deputy chairman of the BSSR Soviet of People's Commissars [SNK], a party member since 1918 (expelled in December 1937);

Ignatovich, Stanislav Konstantinovich, former second secretary of the BSSR CP's Bykhovskiy Raykom, a party member since 1926 (expelled in November 1937);

Kovalev, Zakhar Tikhonovich, former first secretary of the BSSR CP's Voroshilovskiy Raykom, City of Minsk, a party member since 1922 (expelled in October 1937).

Romanenko, Stepan Matveyevich, a former chairman of the BSSR Central Executive Committee's organizational committee for Polesk Oblast and a party member since 1918, unjustifiably convicted in May 1940 and expelled from the party as an "enemy of the people," was reinstated (posthumously) in CPSU ranks. S.M. Romanenko was fully rehabilitated in court respects by a decision of the USSR Supreme Court's Military Collegium in 1957.

The BSSR CP CC Buro considered certain other party work and socio-economic-cultural development problems of the republic.

'Open Letter' to Estonian CC on Party Role in Stalin Repressions

18001006 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 18 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by V. Ivanov: "Are We Again Searching for Hostile Intrigues?"]

[Text] The other day, VESTNIK NARODNOGO FRONTA (No 17) published "An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party." We will publish the text of the letter, especially as it is fairly brief.

"Our past is overflowing with violence and arbitrary rule. The resettlement of our people in 1941 and 1949 as well as all of Stalin's repressions are part of the genocide employed with respect to us. Tens of thousands of people were torn away from the land with which they had literally grown together for many centuries (no wonder the historical self-designation of the Estonians—'maarahva,' people of the land). Tens of thousands of representatives of this people were again enslaved in the mid-20th century.

"There is not a family on Estonian soil that was not touched by the hand of Stalinism, sowing death and strife. The land from the Siberian graves, the ruined human lives, and the agonizing memories make our hearts throb.

"We want to overcome all this. We do not want wish for this to be repeated. We must atone for the fault.

"Atonement must begin with the party, including the Communist Party of Estonia. We communists who have joined the People's Front cannot have a moment's peace knowing that the crimes against the Estonian people were committed with involvement of the Communist Party of Estonia. In order to ease somewhat the burden of the past that is holding sway over the Communist Party of Estonia and in order to begin self-purification, we call for the following:

"1) immediately open all archives of organs of security and the party, for as long as there is a monopoly on the truth about the past, it is impossible to establish trust either in the present or in the future;

"2) use the principles of glasnost and democracy in party life, since today's party system, on the one hand, promotes careerism and, on the other, is favorably disposed toward irresponsible (as written in text—V.I.) performers;

"3) demonstrate initiative toward repealing the constitutional statute defining the role of the party; the party must confirm its leading role only by a mandate received from the people;

"4) provide compensations from the party budget for property damage to repressed individuals;

"5) decisively reject neo-Stalinist and great-power ideologies, the prerequisite for which would be adoption by the Communist Party of Estonia of its own program based on the interests of Estonia.

"We call upon party veterans, whose lives have been crippled by forced involvement in the repressions, to find within themselves the strength to tell the new generations the whole bitter truth about those years and those injustices.

"We call upon all honest communists of Estonia to sign our appeal. Let these signatures express our determination to put an end to the past and to open a new page in the history of the Estonian Communist Party."

Today, when tens and may hundreds of appeals, resolutions, declarations, and other similar documents are being adopted by various forums and published by various publications, the one quoted above calls special attention to itself, setting it apart from the others. Although, it would seem, it contains nothing fundamentally new. You see, statements condemning Stalin's repressions (including against the Estonian people) can be heard today from the "highest" and most responsible speaker's rostrums: these repressions have been called criminal and not subject to disregard, much less forgiveness, at the country's highest political forum.

Men of science and culture and specialists in the most diverse sectors are devoting all their efforts to the struggle with the grave consequences of the Stalinist clique and with the distortions in the legal, social, spiritual, and moral spheres, in politics, and in economics—as well as with the consequences of the blasphemous outrage upon morality, law, and humanity.

And all the same... We read carefully the lines of the appeal again and again. It is as if each proposal taken separately does not offend the eye. Nevertheless, the document as a whole gives rise to quite a distinct internal protest.

We will keep our emotions in check. We will try to understand. To do this, we will again read the text, sentence by sentence.

"Our past is overflowing with violence and arbitrary rule..."

This sentence sets the tone for all that follows. It contains the clef that is usually placed at the beginning of a musical staff: a treble clef is the high key, a major key; the bass clef is the low sound, a minor key, a tragic sound. But is such simple symbolism applicable in the approach to assessing the past (especially being done as if in passing, with one stroke)? You see, in that same past there were enthusiasm, selfless labor to restore the post-war ruin, joys of overcoming the problems that constantly arose, and also achievements. Does it make sense, is it reasonable, and is it beneficial, in the final analysis, to cross out all this and paint a picture of the past with only thick, gloomy strokes—"overflowing with violence"...

We are trying to get rid of stereotypes in consciousness, avoiding now even defining the Middle Ages only as "dismal and hopeless," recognizing that Giordano Bruno and Copernicus, and other thinkers and artists, who determined the inevitability of the arrival of the Renaissance, existed and created during that time. Thus, is it worth creating new stereotypes to replace outdated ones? That is why the position of Yaan Nap, dean of the faculty of cultural-educational work at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, is so much closer to me than the one outlined in the appeal. Speaking at a mourning rally in memory of the victims of repression on 25 March at the Yulemiste-Tovarnaya Station, he said: "...the Stalinist machine stood above the law, above humanity. This machine spit out inhuman resolutions that determined human destinies. Today, my fellow-tribesmen have gathered here—Estonians. Russians and Ukrainians, Latvians and Belorussians, Lithuanians and representatives of many other peoples came with the Estonians. The pain imprinted in the social memory of people and in the hearts of the peoples knows no national boundaries; this is a pain common to all mankind (my emphasis—V.I.)."

Really, did my own Russian people, in the final analysis, suffer less from the Stalinist machine than all other peoples? Each of us, regardless of our nationality, to this day are paying severely for the consequences of the activities of that heartless machine...

I am sure that all honest communists share my feelings and thoughts. That is why the statement **"atonement must begin with the party..."** does not seem quite correct. Why **"must it begin?"** It has already begun, and namely with the party. The party found in itself the strength and courage to admit its responsibility and to begin the process of purification—a difficult and slow process in which hasty and peremptory conclusions based only on emotions are impermissible, no matter how weighty the causes of these emotions.

In this connection, the demand of the authors of the appeal to **"immediately open all archives of organs of security and the party..."** is understandably quite emotional. But let us think for a moment, tempering our feelings: Is the desire to maintain **"a monopoly on the truth about the past"** the only reason that a considerable portion of these archives continue to remain closed? I am now not even talking about those which contain actual state secrets (without which no society, even the most democratic one, is able to get along).

But here is something to think about. Stored in these archives are someone's testimonies which for many years determined the sad fate of other people. I do not mean direct information and slander—that is another matter. But, you see, there are also those that were obtained under pressure, by force—nevertheless, the people who gave them bear a heavy moral responsibility for someone's fate. The vast majority of them probably judge themselves sincerely and severely; with remorse they try the rest of their lives to wash away this shameful spot from their conscience. Perhaps they have already atoned and become respected members of society. In this connection, does not the demand to **"IMMEDIATELY open ALL archives"** sound like a call for revenge and reprisals? Like a desire to lump deliberate agent provocateurs and informants together with those who, out of weakness or under threat, took a false step and are mercilessly punishing themselves for this... The process of declassifying archives is a complicated and, without irony, a delicate matter. And by rehabilitating some, should the fates of others be unconditionally crippled?

Any truth, of course, must be complete, and our entire history must be interpreted without deletions. But it is impermissible to do this in a quick temper, on the level of "rally" democracy. It is impossible to correct an by committing a new evil.

In general, forgive my harsh words, but the demand for "immediate opening of all archives" strongly resembles a demagogic method: to shout earlier unfulfilled but

popular (or outwardly attractive for the majority of the population) slogan appeals, and then say—see, they did not heed the voice of the people!...

To a considerable extent, the same can perhaps be said of the appeal **"...to demonstrate initiative toward repealing the constitutional statute defining the role of the party..."** and further in the text (see point 3 of the appeal). What does **"mandate received from the people"** mean? How should this look?

In today's elections of people's deputies, when no one determined in advance how many communists and how many non-party members should "pass" into legislators of the country, and so forth, the voters—making a conscious choice—gave 93.3 percent of the mandates to CPSU members. This is in our republic. For a comparison: in previous elections, with all their organization, the percentage of communists elected was 77.8... In this regard, can the results of today's elections be considered as a mandate of the people's trust to the party?

We often hear from activists in the People's Front of Estonia rebukes toward the Intermovement and the OSTK, and sometimes direct accusations of helping to split the Communist Party of Estonia along nationality lines. It is possible that some of these reproaches are justified, although the "mass media" have not produced any weighty arguments so far. However, we would agree that this topic warrants detailed and unbiased discussion. But, in this same regard, how are we to consider then point 5 of this appeal? Its text contains a quite unambiguous hint that the current CPSU Program is precisely a product of neo-Stalinist and great-power ideology. In this case, **"adoption by the Communist Party of Estonia of its own program based on the interests of Estonia"** could be considered as nothing more than a step toward this split. Here, however, we should not confuse two fairly similar concepts. The Communist Party of Estonia and its Central Committee should have a specific **program of actions** under conditions of perestroika, and no one is likely to have any objections to this. As far as adopting a program as a fundamental document differing from the CPSU Program in its fundamental positions is concerned, this is quite clearly a striving toward separatism.

Intending to put an end to the past and begin a new page in the history of the Communist Party of Estonia, the authors of the appeal, intentionally or unintentionally, are again using the same methods that they are condemning in the past: **"We call upon all honest communists of Estonia to sign our appeal."** It is all very simple: If you sign the appeal, you are "honest;" if you do not, you are "dishonest..."

This greatly resembles the public confessions practiced in the 1930's—"dissociation" from "excesses," "distortions of policies," and various "deviations." At that time, the question of belonging to the "enemies of the

people" was also easily resolved. Today, we are untangling the intricacies tied and entangled in this "simplicity," for which many millions had to pay with their lives.

Certainly, in actuality there is nothing simpler than placing the entire responsibility for the existing problems and shortcomings on some "newcomers" or on their "satraps." But if in doing this we are supposed to play on the keenest and most easily hurt—ethnic—feelings, then it is so much easier to achieve the desired goal (to make ourselves out to be the only ones concerned with the people's interests). But there is historical experience. It shows what those who try to sow the dragon's teeth reap for a harvest...

History has given us a short period of time to overcome the obstructions in our path. If we waste this time displaying our mutual resentments, satisfying our own ambitions, and creating new myths to replace old ones, a bitter harvest awaits us.

Measures To Rehabilitate Victims of Stalinism Noted

18000845a Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 1

[ETA report by Ya. Kirikal, chairman, Estonian SSR Supreme Court: "Mass Repressions Are Not and Cannot Be Justified"]

[Text] Glasnost has opened up for us so much new information about the Stalinist mass repressions that we can unanimously state the following: There was no, is no, nor can there be any kind of justification for them. The mass repressions constituted a crime against humanity which discredited the state and was directed against its own people.

In Estonia a juridical rehabilitation of those persons who suffered from the mass repressions is now taking place. The officials connected with this process understand that no kind of rehabilitating act is capable of reimbursing a person for the arbitrary physical and moral damage which has been done. But each such person must have his good name and civic dignity returned to him, as well as be reimbursed for material damage.

This has been done, most of all, for those who suffered from extra-judicial mass repressions. On 7 September 1988 this republic's government annulled those acts which pertained to kulak farms and which exiled kulaks and members of their families.

By a law dated 7 December 1988 and entitled "On Extra-Judicial Mass Repressions in Soviet Estonia During the Years 1940-1950," the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet rehabilitated all those who had been exiled.

By a legislative act dated 16 January 1989 and entitled "On Supplementary Measures To Restore Justice with Regard to the Victims of Repressions Which Took Place

During the 1930's, 1940's, and Very Early 1950's," the USSR Supreme Soviet annulled all the acts decided by the extra-judicial organs which had not been previously annulled up to the day when this act was adopted.

The procedure for returning property to the rehabilitated persons and reimbursing them for the damage inflicted upon them has been established by a decree of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers dated 20 February 1989.

The above-mentioned acts have been published. It is undoubtedly true that many issues need to be worked out in further detail and require commentary. However, the legislative concept is inherently characterized by good will, by a desire to make up for the consequences of arbitrary conduct without creating excessive fuss and bother [trouble] for the victims of these repressions. Particularly important, to my way of thinking, is the fact that material damage is being reimbursed even for those persons whose rehabilitation in former years had turned out to be an indefinite, half-way business because of the non-reimbursement for property damage.

The press has failed to turn their attention to a certain document which was approved on 7 December 1988 by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and which was presented by way of an initiative to the USSR Supreme Soviet; this is a bill entitled "On Extra-Judicial Mass Repressions During the Period of Stalinism."

The principal points of this bill are as follows: 1) to acknowledge the extra-judicial, mass repressions of the Stalinist period as crimes against humanity, and to provide within the law being worked out for responsibility for crimes against humanity; 2) the USSR procurator general should disclose the organizers and perpetrators of the Stalinist mass executions and other crimes against humanity and hold them responsible in the procedure established by law; 3) to recognize as unconstitutional all banishments to special settlements (deportations) and the Special Conference, which existed from 1934 to 1953, to abrogate all legislative acts in the USSR which have served as a basis for conducting mass, extra-judicial repressions, and, at the same time, recognize as rehabilitated those persons who have suffered from such acts; 4) reimburse from the Union budget those who have been rehabilitated for the material damage inflicted upon them.

In adopting the law, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has proceeded on the basis that an acknowledgement of the Stalinist mass repressions as crimes against humanity and the establishment of criminal responsibility for them pertains to the legislative competence of the USSR because it is a matter a crimes against the state. This question is precisely regulated by the fundamentals of criminal legislation.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the people's deputies to the USSR who have been elected in the Estonian SSR are now confronted with the task of struggling to fully implement our bill in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

As to the court cases of those times, they will be revised regardless of the statements made by the condemned persons. To be sure, up to now we have been proceeding basically from such statements because top priority must be given to restoring the rights of the living.

Those who have been rehabilitated from the repressions of the years 1940-1941 include the Estonian Republic's state and public leaders, who were condemned for so-called political crimes, along with citizens who were drawn unawares into juridical responsibility during the years 1940-1950. This work is continuing now on a much larger scale because judges have been freed from the necessity of examining the sentences handed down by the extra-judicial organs.

Not subject to rehabilitation are those persons whose hands are stained with the blood of Soviet citizens (traitors to the Motherland, members of punitive detachments, gangs, and their henchmen); nor should we rehabilitate falsifiers of criminal cases, and those who have committed capital crimes.

When trying [examining] each case, the courts proceed by evaluating the crime involved and the degree of its danger to society from a present-day viewpoint.

ESSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Challenges Council of Ministers on Ecological 'Catastrophe'

18000845b Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by E. Grechkina, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy, candidate for USSR people's deputy from Kokhtla-Yarva National-Territorial Electoral District No 467: "Inquiry by Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputy E. Grechkina to the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers Regarding the Catastrophic Socio-Ecological Situation in the Kokhtla-Yarve Region"]

[Text] During the course of the election campaign for USSR people's deputy at numerous meetings with Kokhtla-Yarve's voters the latter raised with particular sharpness the region's social and ecological problems, which are in need of urgent solution. The city's population has expressed extreme indignation that for a long time and at the most diverse levels a great deal has been said about the region as a zone of ecological catastrophe, but so far no substantial measures have been taken. There have been attempts to cover up or intentionally distort information characterizing the state of the natural environment and people's health. There are grounds for asserting that the genetic code of this region's future generation has been seriously violated. People have lost

faith that positive changes will occur in this territory. All this has led to an unfavorable demographic situation and a significant increase of sociopolitical tension in the region.

In connection with what was set forth above, I request the Council of Ministers of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic to inform the deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and this republic's society concerning the following questions:

1. What is the position of this republic's government with regard to the fact that USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, as well as certain other USSR departments are planning to expand shale extraction and processing in the Kokhtla-Yarve region, along building a new, high-capacity electric-power station, whereas this republic has failed to develop an appropriate balance, nor has it solved the problems of a comprehensive utilization of natural resources?

2. What has been undertaken by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers to genuinely limit the unilateral production activity of the All-Union departments in this region? Their intensive utilization of the natural resources, the present-day unique administrative division of the region, the disproportion which has evolved here with regard to development of the social sphere require that maximum consideration be given to these characteristics and an immediate, special examination in the Estonian SSR government of the problems involved in developing the Kokhtla-Yarve region as a unique territorial-economic and sociocultural complex.

3. Has the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers adopted measures for conducting a detailed, economic, expert analysis in the Kokhtla-Yarve region?

4. Has the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers been granted the necessary powers to determine the future prospects for developing the city of Sillamyae? Are the new production capacities being introduced in this city ecologically dangerous and harmful to human health?

Public opinion in this region is extremely disturbed by the incidence of disease among Sillamyae's children in view of the increased radiation. This fact has been RIGOROUSLY DOCUMENTED by the Institute of Chemical and Biological Physics of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences.

In connection with these circumstances, has an extraordinary government commission been set up to investigate their causes and to make those officials guilty of this responsible? I consider it necessary to conduct without delay a multi-faceted medical study of the inhabitants, especially the children, of the city of Sillamyae and the entire northeastern region of our republic.

5. At what stage is the implementation of Paragraph 5 of the decree of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 6 December, 1988 and entitled "On the Status and Tasks with Regard to Safeguarding Nature and Using Natural Resources in the Estonian SSR," in accordance with which this republic's Council of Ministers was entrusted with the task of developing a Program for the Socioeconomic Development of Estonia's up to the Year 2005, proceeding from the norms of nature utilization, environmental protection, and safeguarding health, as well as international conventions regarding the limiting and curtailment of environmental pollution?

I consider it necessary to also provide within the framework of this program for the major improvement of the material base of health care, education, culture, and social insurance; implementation of personal privileges for young specialists, the redistribution of construction possibilities in favor of social types of facilities by means of cutting back on industrial construction, providing a sense of legal and social protection for each inhabitant of this region, regardless of his nationality.

ESSR KGB Chief Interviewed on Campaign Platform

18000845c Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with K.Ye. Kortelainen, lieutenant-general, chairman of the Estonian SSR KGB, by Correspondent V. Ivanov: "Precisely Define Terms of Competence and Rights..."; date and place not given]

[Text] The KGB.... Nowadays quite a few very divergent opinions are "circulating" around this department. Some persons with virtually a categorical absoluteness consider the KGB as just about the sole panacea for all of today's troubles stemming from the "dissident." Other persons just as categorically term this committee strictly a punitive organ.

Most likely, as is always the case with extreme appraisals, neither side is correct. The renowned Academician Andrey Sakharov, whom it would be difficult to suspect of any particular sympathy for the KGB, nevertheless, is inclined, for example, to view this committee as almost the only uncorrupted organization which "because of its elitism," is capable of genuinely opposing the growing omnipotence of the mafia.

Nowadays the veil of secrecy, which cloaked the KGB's activities for a long time, is being lifted. Items written by staff members of this committee have begun to appear rather frequently in the mass media; the weekly NEDEL'YA has published an entire cycle—a selection of materials about various aspects of matters falling within the sphere of concerns of the "competent organ." And even (something unprecedented!) with a list of names, ranks, and pictures of KGB operational staff members. Another weekly—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—regularly provides information on the KGB's activities.

The circumstances of glasnost have also determined the compass of questions which the editors of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA put to Lieutenant-General K.Ye. Kortelainen, candidate for USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Estonian SSR KGB.

[Correspondent] First of all, what does your election campaign platform include; what is it based upon?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] The contents of my platform are based upon the decisions taken at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, as well as those of the 11th and 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenums. I consider the issues of top-priority importance for this republic and the entire USSR to be in the field of political reform—the problem of nations' sovereignty and their right to self-determination, as well as the distribution of competence between the republic and the USSR within the framework of the Leninist concept of federation, which guarantees independence in deciding all vitally important questions in the localities involved (with the exception of those which will be turned over for handling by the USSR).

We must implement these ideas in our proposals to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the matter of improving inter-ethnic relations and in the draft law on republic-level citizenship, taking into account the principle of citizens' equal rights before the law in accordance with Article 34 of the USSR Constitution. It is no less important to continue the process of providing full power to the Soviets. As a member of the Estonian CP Central Committee Bureau, I will continue to do everything in my power to implement these points. And if the voters put their high trust in me, I will defend my views in this country's highest legislative assembly.

[Correspondent] What do you see as the way to create a state of law and the further democratization of Soviet society?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] In the first place, we must discuss in the USSR Supreme Soviet and adopt a general concept of Union legislation which would take into account those changes which are occurring nowadays in the country and throughout the world. In addition to this, we must do the following:

—develop a comprehensive program to combat crime (having outfitted the law-enforcement organs with up-to-date scientific and technical equipment;

—work out a law to provide for the state security of the USSR in which the competence and rights of the KGB organs are precisely defined;

—strengthen the juridical guarantees of civil rights and liberties. Complete the rehabilitation of all illegally repressed persons, along with reimbursing the damage done to them.

I also consider it necessary to improve the forms and methods of the activities performed by the KGB organs, consistently implementing the following basic principles: work under the party's leadership, observe socialist legality as strictly as possible, and expand our ties with working people.

We support the activity of public movements and pluralism of opinions—unless this contradicts the principles of socialism and democracy—as part of the vital need to strengthen the humanistic and moral foundations of socialism.

Any extremist actions which incite inter-ethnic strife, destabilize the situation, and retard the solution of perestroika's problems—by playing into the hands of the conservative forces—require unconditional condemnation.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the idea of republic-level cost accounting [self-support]?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] It seems to me that specifically within the framework of the IME [World Economics Institute][?] we can find a genuine possibility for actively solving all the accumulated socioeconomic, ecological, demographical, and other problems at the rayon level as well as at the republic level. That is why, in my opinion, we need to as quickly as possible (of course, without excessive haste, and after studying the problem in the maximum detail) complete the development, discuss widely, and introduce republic-level cost accounting. Moreover, it would be feasible, by proceeding from the conception of socialist and general-humanistic values, to recognize all forms of public and personal [private] property, excluding the exploitation of man by man, and ensuring social justice.

I would like to dwell particularly on such a "private matter" as defending the interests of all social groups within the population—and not just "in general," but in their particularly specific manifestations. For example, to assist in simplifying the system of the city of Paldiski, to enable the inhabitants of the riparian rayons to have egress to the sea, to establish a cultural center in the Kharyus Rayon, and to open a secondary school in Klooga.... If I am elected deputy, I will apply all my efforts to carry out these tasks, to protect the interests of working people at the rayon, republic, and All-Union levels.

[Correspondent] Karl Yefremovich, you spoke about the need to rehabilitate all illegally repressed persons—with reimbursement for the damage done to them. What specifically is being done for this purpose in the Estonian SSR KGB?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] As you know, persons exiled from Estonia in 1949 as kulaks were rehabilitated in May 1988 by a decree of this republic's Council of Ministers. All remaining exiles were rehabilitated on the basis of

the Estonian SSR Law (dated 7 December 1988) on Extrajudicial Repressions. Those persons who were repressed for criminal acts by decisions of the "Special Conferences" were rehabilitated by an Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 16 January 1989. This procedure has not been extended to certain categories of repressed persons—traitors to the Motherland during from the period of the Great Patriotic War, Nazi criminals, bandits, and capital offenders. It is understandable, of course, that, along with those innocent persons who suffered, there were also those who fully deserved the punishment meted out to them.... These cases, as well as the cases involving the so-called counter-revolutionary crimes, which were tried by the courts, are now being re-examined by the organs of the procuracy. In case the procurator makes an erroneous decision on a case, it can be appealed to a court, which makes the final decision.

In case the matter requires additional checking up, the procurator can re-open the investigation, which can be assigned to the state security investigatory organs. When the additional investigation has been completed, the materials are presented to the procurator's office for a final decision to be made.

Now to answer your question directly. In 1988 the Estonian SSR KGB used such a procedure to check up on cases with regard to 242 persons, of which 160 were proposed for rehabilitation.

For purposes of comparison, during the preceding 8 years (from 1970 through 1987) cases were tried involving 502 persons, of which 224 were rehabilitated....

I'd like to particularly emphasize the following point once again: in my opinion, we should approach an appraisal of the past with the maximum of objectivity, in a multifaceted way, taking into account the actual conditions of history, without belittling the achievements of our society and, certainly in no case allowing a disrespectful attitude toward the veterans of war and labor.

[Correspondent] And how are the KGB organs participating in examining the matters of paying compensatory damages to persons who have suffered from mass repressions?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] Justice must be restored to the maximum degree possible. And our representative in the working group of this republic's Council of Ministers took part in working out the draft decree for reimbursing rehabilitated persons for damages suffered. This decree was adopted by the republic's government on 20 February of the current year. The act obligates the Estonian SSR KGB to present upon demand of a ray- or gori-polkom all documents concerning the seizure or confiscation of the property of rehabilitated persons.

Let me take advantage of this occasion to clarify something with regard to the publication in your newspaper of an ETA item entitled "A Step in the Direction of Justice"

(24 February of this year), which reported the following in particular: "In order to instigate a demand for a return of property or its reimbursement in the appropriate ispolkom, a citizen must submit, in addition to his application on this matter, a certificate of his rehabilitation from the repression issued by the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] or its successor, the Estonian SSR KGB."

There is an annoying inaccuracy here: the KGB DOES NOT ISSUE such certificates (which, by the way, is apparent from Paragraph 19 of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers decree, published in this same newspaper). In criminal cases such certificates are issued by the Estonian SSR Procuracy.

[Correspondent] Karl Yefremovich, what can you tell our readers who are interested in the process of clearing up KGB documents with regard to illegal repressions?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] It must be made clear that all documents and materials regarding exiles are located in the archives of the Estonian SSR MVD. Stored in the KGB archives are the materials pertaining to criminal cases and those involving the so-called counter-revolutionary crimes; their re-examination is proceeding at the present time. Staff members of the procuracy and the court can demand these cases by following the established procedure.

A law regarding archives is now being prepared. It must be assumed that, when this law is passed, many problems will be solved.

[Correspondent] Nowadays various publications and audiences are coming out with proposals—and frequently even demands—that the organs of the KGB, MVD, and Ministry of Defense be made strictly and openly accountable to the parliament (the Supreme Soviet of a republic or the country as a whole) or to some other government organ. What—and within what framework—is possible for carrying out such proposals? And what should be the attitude toward the competence of the parliament in monitoring the activity of the KGB?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] In accordance with the criminal-procedural legislation, monitoring and investigating the KGB organs is fully under the jurisdiction of the Procuracy. The procurator also monitors matters of the KGB's administrative-legal activity. In criminal cases the sentence, in the final analysis, is pronounced by the court. As you know, the KGB operates under the direct leadership [supervision] of the party committees at the appropriate levels. Thus, it cannot be said that the KGB is beyond being monitored nowadays.

At the present time a law to ensure state security is being worked out, and I have already mentioned it. It will precisely define the competence and rights of the KGB organs and their accountability. It is specifically these problems, along with ensuring socialist legality, which

must be relegated to the competence of the monitoring organ, which will be determined by the USSR Supreme Soviet when this law is passed. The proposals by citizens and public organizations will most certainly be taken into account during this process.

The violations of socialist legality which have been allowed to occur in the state security organs in the past comprise an onerous heritage for today's Chekists. And although I have occupied my present position for less than 7 years (prior to this I served in the Border Guards, I have not shirked moral responsibility for everything participated in by the KGB organs.

In appraising history, we cannot fail to be struck [astounded] by the penetrating qualities of V.I. Lenin, who considered the extraordinary powers of the VChK organs as a temporary measure, called for by the circumstances of the Revolution and the Civil War. When reorganizing them in 1922, he insisted on limiting their competence and especially to depriving the VChK of court functions. Lenin's illness kept him from carrying out his ideas, and gradually the state security organs began to employ more and more power. In this connection, we must emphasize that the mass repressions of the 1930's, 1940's, and early 1950's were not a phenomenon connected solely with the state security organs but became part of the administrative-command system of running the country. This system was created by Stalin and his henchmen, who considered man as merely as means for attaining a goal.

The fundamental evaluation which the party has accorded to those illegal repressions, as a result of which completely innocent persons suffered (including those in our republic) consists of the point that there can be no political, juridical, nor moral justification for these actions. In this connection, it must be said that nowadays in this republic's KGB violations of socialist legality have been rooted out. Nor will they be permitted in the future.

The staff members of our KGB view their task as finishing up the work of rehabilitating in the briefest possible time period all those who have suffered innocently. This is our duty to them and to the entire people. And on the sorrowful day of 25 March we express our sincere sympathy to all the victims of injustice and to their loved ones.

[Correspondent] And what is your opinion concerning the role and place of the mass media at the present-day stage of our society's development?

[K.Ye. Kortelainen] It would be difficult to overestimate their importance in shaping public opinion and mobilizing the society's efforts to solve the problems confronting the republic. I consider that the mass media have become sufficiently actively involved in the process of

perestroyka; they extensively elucidate the vital problems and sore points of our social development. Nevertheless, we cannot help being concerned by the circumstance that the editors of certain newspapers and journals, as well as radio and television broadcasts, sometimes approach the publication of materials presented to them without critically analyzing their contents, without adequately predicting what consequences they might cause in the development of this republic's internal political situation. Instances have been noted where a forum has been provided for certain irresponsible elements who are attempting to compromise the processes of restructuring our society.

It must be said straight out that the increased tension in the relations between the two basic nationality groups in our republic has been exacerbated in its own way by the appearance in the mass media of certain materials which have not taken into consideration the national feelings of this or that group of the population, and which sometimes have affected them directly.

I'd like to hope that editors and journalists will draw the necessary conclusions from the situation which has evolved and that they will be permeated by a sense of personal responsibility for the further development of the situation in this republic.

We must all learn one thing well: There is no, nor can there be, any alternative to consolidation.

Armenian CP Approves Official Reintroduction of Word 'Khorhurd'

18380009a Yerevan SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN
in Armenian 12 Apr 89 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "On the Use of the Word 'Khorhurd' [Soviet]"]

[Text] In order to eliminate unnecessary parallelism in use of the terms "khorhurd" and "sovet," the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro has approved adoption of a proposal by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Terminology Committee to restore use of the Armenian word "khorhurd" as an official governmental administrative term. Henceforth the word "sovet" and derivatives based on the word "sovet," such as the word "sovetakan" and others, shall in all cases be replaced by "khorhurd," "khorhrdayin" and other forms of this word.

Background on Use of Word 'Khorhurd,' Other Terms

18380009b Yerevan SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN
in Armenian 12 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Terminology Committee on Use of the Word 'Khorhurd' in Armenian"]

[Text] The Armenian word "khorhurd" has traditionally had the meaning of representative body or assembly. From 1905 this word began to be used in the meaning of

soviet, such as in the term "banvorneri patkamavorneri khorhurd" [Soviet of Workers' Deputies]. In 1917 the words "khorhrdayin" [soviet (adjective)] and "khorhrdaynats'um" [Sovietization] came into use, and for many years were used in Armenian-language publications (periodicals, books, organizational names) as well as in spoken Armenian.

In 1940, by decision of the Terminology Committee, the above-mentioned words, as well as a number of other words ("kusakts'ut'yun" [party], "heghap'okhut'yun" [revolution], "sahmanadrut'yun" [constitution], and "hanrapetut'yun" [republic]) were taken out of use and replaced by the words "partiya," "revolyuts'ia," "konstituts'ia," and "rhespublika."

In 1966 the Terminology Committee restored use of the words "kusakts'ut'yun," "heghap'okhut'yun," "sahmanadrut'yun," and "hanrapetut'yun," and in 1977 the committee adopted a resolution calling for use of the term "Ministrneri khorhurd" [Council of Ministers] in place of the term "Ministrneri sovet."

As a result of this, a situation has been created in the contemporary Armenian language whereby the terms "sovet" and "khorhurd" are used side-by-side ("Geraguyn sovet" [Supreme Soviet], "Azgutyunneri sovet" [Soviet of Nationalities], "k'aghak'ayin, shrjan-ayin, gyughakan sovet" [city, rayon, village or rural soviet] on the one hand; "Ministrneri khorhurd" [Council of Ministers], "hamamiut'enakan arhestakts'akan miut'yunneri kentronakan khorhurd" [All-Union Central Trade Union Council], and "mankavarzhakan khorhurd" [teachers' council] on the other).

In order to eliminate unnecessary parallelism in use of the terms "khorhurd" and "sovet," the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Terminology Committee has resolved the following:

To restore in the Armenian language use of the word "khorhurd" as an administrative and governmental term, and henceforth in all cases to use "khorhurd," "khorhrdayin," etc in place of "sovet" and other words derived from it, such as "sovetakan," etc.

Examples of terms in the new form include: "Khorhrdayin Sots'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yunneri Miut'yun" (KhSHM) [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)], "Khorhrdayin Miut'yan komunistakan kusakts'ut'yun" (KhMKK) [Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)], "Khorhrdayin Miut'yan komunistakan kusakts'ut'yan Kentronakan komite" (KhMKK Kentkom) [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU CC)], "Khorhrdayin Sots'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yunneri Miut'yan Geraguyn khorhurd" (KhSHM Geraguyn khorhurd) [Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Supreme Soviet of the USSR)], "Rhusastani Khorhrdayin Federativ Sots'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yun" (RhKhFSH) [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR)], "Ukrainakan

Khorhrdayin Sots'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yun" (Ukr. KhSH) [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR)], "Nakhijevani Ink'navar Khorhrdayin Sots'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yun" [Nakhijevani IKhSH] [Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Nakhichevan ASSR)], "khorhrdayin k'aghak'ats'i" [Soviet citizen], "khorhrdayin banak" [Soviet Army], "khorhrdayin ishkanut'yun" [Soviet rule], "khortntesut'yun" [Soviet economy], "k'aghkhorhurd" [city soviet], "shrkhorhurd" [rayon soviet], "gyughkhorhurd" [village or rural soviet], etc.

Azerbaijan CP CC Discusses 1988 Party Organization Election Results

18300479 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
18 Feb 89 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party"]

[Text] At a meeting held on 15 February, the Bureau of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee discussed the results of the reports and elections in the party organizations of the republic in 1988.

In accordance with the CPSU Rules, the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, report and election meetings were held in 12,196 party groups, 9,307 shop and 10,574 primary party organizations in the republic. There were 77 report and election party conferences of rayons, cities and Nakhichevan Oblast.

It was noted that most of the party meetings and conferences took place in an atmosphere of efficiency, free exchange of opinions, and extensive criticism and self-criticism. The main emphasis was put on specifying the tasks of each party organization in the practical fulfillment of the aims worked out at the 19th CPSU Conference for the extension of perestroika, the improvement of organizational and ideological work, and the accomplishment of economic reform.

Many party committees and primary party organizations took a self-critical and high-minded approach to the evaluation of their actions. Their work confirms the striving to resolve the set tasks through political methods and to be consistent in pursuing the line of democratizing internal party life and there was more solidarity, openness and specificity. Communists are becoming more mature politically and are maintaining a business-like and realistic approach to the complex tasks of the current stage of perestroika, especially in the area of international relations. The work carried out by the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and party committees to implement the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum that took place on 16 August 1988, to accomplish the tasks in perestroika, to resolve priority social and economic programs, to normalize international relations and to eradicate the negative occurrences in the work of party, soviet, economic and

law-enforcement bodies was approved. Thousands of proposals and critical comments were made. The staffs of elective party bodies were formed in a democratic atmosphere. Almost one out of four secretaries of primary and shop party organizations and party group organizations were replaced. A significant share of the secretaries of primary party organizations were elected from among alternative candidates.

At the same time, it was pointed out that not all party conferences and report and election meetings took place in a spirit of self-critical analysis of the work of party organizations. There were serious shortcomings in the work of the Apsheronkiy, Lachinskiy, Khachmasskiy, Shakhbuzskiy rayon party conferences. In the reports of Baku and Yevlakh gorkoms and of the Shemakhinskiy, Babekskiy, Azizbekovskiy, Khanlarskiy, Fizulinskiy, Saatlinskiy and Kutkashenskiy party raykoms and in the speeches of delegates, little attention was paid to the problems in the restructuring of party political, personnel and ideological work or to the development of socialist self-administration. In a number of party organizations, the meetings took place with low attendance and activity of communists.

The bureau noted that not all party committees are strictly fulfilling the aims of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the restructuring of the style and methods of work, they still lack purposefulness in the affirmation of new approaches, and many staff workers have not yet overcome attempts to dictate their own opinion or the striving to avoid criticism from below and accountability to the elective body.

The reports and elections showed that some party leaders are not living for the interests of the people and are not utilizing their authority. There was a strengthening of the leadership of Nakhichevan Obkom, Kirovavad, Sheki, Lenkoran and Mingechaur gorkoms, and Shaumyanovskiy, Ordzhonikidzevskiy, Narimanovskiy imeni 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov, Imishlinskiy, Kakhskiy, Kelbadzharskiy, Kutkashenskiy, Tauzskiy and Khachmasskiy party raykoms.

A decree sets forth specific measures to eliminate the shortcomings revealed in the course of reports and elections and to realize the aims worked out by the 19th All-Union Party Conference for the extension of perestroika, the reform of the political system and the further democratization of the society and party. It was proposed to the party committees that they concentrate their efforts on the improvement of the style and methods of organizational and political work and consistently strive to delimit the functions of party, soviet and economic bodies. Also, that they strengthen and raise the role of party organizations in the realization of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and in the development of glasnost, initiative and socialist enterprise, eliminate repeated cases of irresponsibility and dependence and

persistently seek to consolidate social forces in the struggle to renew all aspects of the life of our society. It is necessary to be resolute in overcoming outdated methods of management involving administrative pressure and obsolete patterns and stereotypes, to affirm political approaches and an atmosphere of great strictness and high demands, and to increase the political influence of primary and shop party organizations and party groups on the resolution of the specific tasks of the collectives. It is also necessary to be persistent in increasing the action and responsibility of communists for the implementation of economic reform and the assimilation of new principles of management, to pay particular attention to the resolution of questions in priority directions of the social and economic development of the republic—the Food Program, the construction of housing, the “Health” Program, and others—to pay constant attention to the problems in the ideological and internationalist tempering of the working people, especially young people, and to be strictly guided by the 12 December 1988 decision of the Central Committee Bureau “On the Tasks of Republic Party Organizations in the Overcoming of the Conflict Between Nationalities in the Light of the Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee and the Decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.”

After examining the question of the course of the preparation in the Azerbaijan SSR for the elections of people's deputies of the USSR, the Bureau pointed out existing shortcomings and omissions in organizational and mass political work.

In the coming stages of the election campaign, the obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees have been entrusted with the full realization of the entire democratic potential built into the new legislation on elections and with the performance of all organizational and mass political work among voters in the light of the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee “To the Party and Soviet People.”

It was found necessary, in strict accordance with the Constitution of the USSR and the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR, to ensure the precise and unfailing performance of legislative requirements in registering candidates for people's deputies, in holding meetings of candidates with voters, in producing instructions and documents for the general review of the lists of voters, and other election measures.

The necessary measures must be taken for the compulsory consideration and inclusion of all citizens temporarily in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR in the lists of voters for the realization of their constitutional right to take part in the elections.

Ministries and departments are obliged, together with the soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees, to take additional measures for the timely realization of all actions planned during the period of the election campaign. The mass media must more fully reflect the profound sense and content of the current election campaign—an important stage in the process of the revolutionary renewal of the political system of the Soviet society and the formation of a state under the rule of law.

In connection with the preparation for the elections of people's deputies of the USSR, the bureau discussed the question of the organizational and political work of Kasum-Ismailovskiy Raykom. Being guided by the decisions of the November (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 12th Extraordinary Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the positions and conclusions stated in the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee “To the Party and Soviet People,” the party, soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations of Kasum Ismailovskiy Rayon began to prepare for the election. The raykom worked out a specific plan taking into account the new conditions and the requirements of the Law of the USSR “On Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR.” Innovations in electoral practice were examined at the meetings of secretaries of primary party organizations, workers of soviet bodies and the ideological aktiv and their specific tasks were defined. District and ward electoral commissions were formed in accordance with the calendar periods. They are made up of workers and kolkhoz farmers, members and candidate members of the CPSU and Komsomol members. More than half of them are women. Thirty one electoral districts have been established; the lists of voters have been improved taking into account persons who have temporarily left their permanent residences in Azerbaijan and Armenia. The nomination of candidates for people's deputies of the USSR, who were evaluated comprehensively in preelection meetings, took place in an atmosphere of glasnost and democracy. Mass political work having to do with the preparation for elections was activated. The preelection measures help raise the production activity of rayon working persons. The planning targets for 1988 were fulfilled successfully. Progress was made in the resolution of urgent social and everyday questions. The decree noted shortcomings and specified measures to strengthen the organizational and political work of the raykom and soviet bodies in preparing for the elections.

The Central Committee Bureau passed a decree “On Additional Measures to Increase the Production of Agricultural Output on Private Plots of the Population.” Other questions in the social and political life of the republic were also examined.

Reader Derides Soviet Slogans
18000852 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by Mikhail Zadornov: "Hidden Meaning"]

[Text] Recently, a dangerous opinion has taken root among our people that we have fallen behind all other countries in all types of production. This is not exactly correct.

For instance, we are far ahead of all other countries in the production of slogans and political posters. Let us take the slogan "Glory to the Great Soviet People!" Where else in the world would you find this? It is impossible to imagine in Paris, on Champs Elysee, an inscription reading: "Glory to the Great French People, the Builder of Capitalism!" And why should they praise themselves? They live quietly and prosperously. But not we. We have created such conditions for ourselves that by merely surviving in them we have the full right to write: "Glory to Us!" Moreover, it is time we all put up a slogan at the entrance to our apartments: "Glory to Me, the Beloved One!" Once you read this slogan in the morning, you do not have to work the entire day, or even better, your whole life. You could sit under that slogan drinking vodka and be proud of yourself. Since you are already so glorious, what do you need to work for?

And what about the slogan: "To Live and Work at an Accelerated Pace"? Would you find something like this in Germany, for instance? Never. The Germans are too green to understand it. It might be possible to explain to them what working at an accelerated pace means, but the term living at an accelerated pace could be misunderstood by them and they might think that it is an exhortation to increase world population.

I have heard that Eastern hieroglyphics have a hidden meaning that can be understood only by Orientals. Our slogans can also be understood exclusively by our own people. They are our own hieroglyphs.

"Comrades, Let Us All as One Take Part in the Communist Saturday Voluntary Workday!" It is impossible to explain the hidden meaning of this hieroglyph to

foreigners. First of all, only in our country everyone gathered together can do as much work as just one person. Secondly, it would take a long time to explain the meaning of the Saturday workday. A Saturday workday, you see, is a 70-year-old tradition of repairing war destruction. While in 1918 war destruction was being repaired only at the Moscow Depot railroad station, now the work has spread all over the country.

Other slogans of ours have a similar secret meaning accessible only to our people.

"Weavers, Save 40,000 Tons of Cotton This Year!" Reading this, an outsider would be surprised. "If your weavers save 40,000 tons of cotton, what will your people use as underwear?" he would logically inquire. This is because that outsider never saw our underwear. If he did, he would propose to save even more cotton.

Of course, with some patience, it is possible to explain the meaning of some slogans. This one, for instance: "At Work as in Combat!" You would simply have to tell the outsider that in this country we always fight with our managers, going to work as if it were the front and feeling as if we were in the trenches.

But then again, there are slogans whose meaning is very hard to grasp. Take this one: "Let Our Motherland Prosper!" This hieroglyph cannot be translated into any foreign language. Because in other countries people naturally want their country to prosper and there is not need to persuade them of it.

On the other hand, some recent posters in our country require neither translation nor explanation. They are crystal clear because they are a precise reflection of reality. Take for instance this one: "The Soviet People Is the Eternal Builder of Communism!"

Our industry posters have also improved a great deal. "More Fertilizers from Our Plant Put More Variety on the Soviet People's Table!" This is a very astute observation, for if the current trend in agriculture continues, we will soon gather from the fields in autumn only what we have placed on them in spring.

New LISSR Council of Ministers Official on Church-State Relations
18000725 Vilnius SOBYTIYA I VREMYA in Russian
No 4, Feb 89 p 11

[Article under the rubric "Who's Who": "Dialog is Necessary"]

[Text] Kazimeras Valanchyus, who is familiar to readers for repeated appearances on the pages of our journal, was appointed representative of the Council on Religious Affairs in the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR after Pyatras Anilyunis left on pension. Up to that time, he worked as deputy to the director in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. K. Valanchyus is 52 years old, he is kandidat of juridical sciences, and a senior lecturer.

We turned to K. Valanchyus with a request to answer letters received at the editorial office. The authors of these letters are interested in how relations between the state and church and the state and believers will be formulated in the future.

"From year to year, for almost 70 years, an attitude of confrontation between the state, church, and believers developed which was a fixed stereotype in the consciousness of the council and party workers. But decisive actions by the party after the April 1985 Plenum of the CC CPSU permitted significant changes to be achieved in the relations of the state and church, and the state and believers. As it seems to me, this is only the beginning of the process of democratization in this area.

"First of all, we must put on a firm legal foundation the regulation of questions of the relations of the state and church. We hope we will soon see a draft of the Law on Freedom of Conscience and that it will be democratic in full measure, taking into account the experience of legislative control of these questions in the socialist countries, as well as international conventions and pacts on the freedom of religion and intolerable discrimination in connection with religious beliefs. The law allows us to solve a large range of painful problems, to be delivered from the errors permitted by Stalin, and in subsequent decades by Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Life itself demands this, and the tasks of forming a legal state demand this.

"I hope that the republic will receive more independence and our institution will be transformed into a republic organ, as was done in the RSFSR, Armenia, and the Ukraine.

Believers address us with requests, problems, and desires. We will try to help them in the future as far as is possible for us. We regard it as our duty to devote all our strength and means to the business of developing the ties between the church and the state. But we want the

church leadership and all holy ministers and believers to observe state laws. Only on such a basis are new high-quality relations between the state and church possible.

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Clergymen, Scholars Comment on Law on Freedom of Conscience
18000763 Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian
No 2, Feb 89 pp 6-8

[Editorial report under the rubric "Perestroyka Update": "What Should the Law on Freedom of Conscience Be?"]

[Text] This question, raised in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the 19th Party Conference, has drawn widespread response among our journal's readers. Letters and suggestions are arriving from both atheists and believers. They almost all support the idea of putting the Leninist principles of attitude toward religion, the church, and believers at the law's base, and speak out for public exchange of opinions, not only during discussion of the new law's draft text, but during the draft text's reworking as well. While continuing publication of the incoming materials, the editorial office asked a number of well-known science figures and clergymen to express their thoughts: What should the law on freedom of conscience be?

In Accordance With the Constitution

Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians:

Provide for legal recognition of church and religious organization work

We should welcome a new law on freedom of conscience that, being fully in accordance with the country's basic law, the USSR Constitution, would contain the kinds of regulations providing for legal recognition of church and religious organization work and unequivocally defining the limits of their work, their rights and obligations, and their interrelations with the state and the local organs of power. It is important, in this regard, to consider the particularities of all the churches and religious organizations functioning within the country's boundaries.

A Set of Complicated Problems

B.M. Lazarev, Doctor of Legal Sciences, professor, USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute department head:

Believers and clergymen—people's deputies?

The registration procedure for religious organizations is complicated and confusing at present. Why is the procedure now being completed only in Moscow, in the Council for Religious Affairs? It is enough, in my opinion, to be content with consideration in the rayon city soviet [raygorsovet], and send only a statistical summary to the council in

Moscow. At the same time, it is necessary to develop a clear-cut, organized list of the permissible reasons for denying registration, to which list the Council for Religious Affairs should direct its efforts.

An important matter is participation in the elections of people's deputies. In my opinion, it should be provided that religious organizations and churches not have the right to nominate candidates, otherwise it would turn out that the church would not be separated from state affairs. However, this does not preclude the possibility of clergymen's and ordinary believers' election as deputies; mass-movement organizations, various foundations, committees, and the like could nominate them. Accordingly, the church's charitable and peace-seeking work also should be officially authorized.

Unequivocal Regulations Are Necessary

D.Ye. Furman, Doctor of Historical Sciences, United States of America and Canada Institute leading scientific associate:

Every educated person should have a conception of such monuments of world culture as the Bible and the Koran

An unequivocal definition of believers' and nonbelievers' individual rights and freedoms, and equalizing of their rights, are most important. If nonbeliever associations may have the right to property, why may religious organizations not have the very same right? The situation looks strange today in a number of the country's regions, particularly in the western Ukraine, where many believers cannot effect registration of their religious associations. Such problems need to be resolved without bureaucratic delays.

Some problems are not as obvious to me, and their solution does not seem entirely clear. I feel, for example, that every cultured person should know the history of the church and religion and have a conception of such outstanding monuments of world culture as the Bible and the Koran. But then, how does one combine the teaching of some kind of knowledge about religion to all children with a law-abiding regard for believers' feelings? Problems of this sort require, not only legal study, but nationwide discussion as well.

The Law Will Affect Everyone

V.V. Suslin, priest:

On the limits of Council for Religious Affairs Plenipotentiaries' Authority

The new law will regulate freedom of conscience in our society; accordingly, it will affect everyone—both believers and nonbelievers. Therefore, it has the utmost significance, and it must be adopted by a nationwide referendum. Believers, you know, are not yet represented in the Supreme Soviet....

An important question is that concerning the limits of Council for Religious Affairs plenipotentiaries' authority. At the time of the ordination rite for a future priest, there are two "papers": the archimandrite's edict and the authorization from a plenipotentiary.... Is such strict control necessary? On the other hand, it is necessary to enhance the prestige of this council's plenipotentiaries.

I should hope that the new law also would help answer such questions as: Is a believing student obliged to study atheism at his institute, and may a USSR Union of Writers member be an orthodox Christian (or a Muslim) writer? By the way, why is your journal atheistic? Why is it not a journal for dialogue between believers and atheists? And why is there not a single representative of the church and its believers in the Council for Religious Affairs?

Equal Rights, Equal Opportunities

T.G. Rabdanov, representative of the Spiritual Administration of Buddhists in the USSR:

Religious education cannot be carried out to the detriment of worldly education

The following requirements seem the most important: equal rights for believers and nonbelievers, and a religious organization's having all the rights of a legal entity. Hence, too, stem many other circumstances which, in my opinion, must be reflected in the law on religion. It is necessary to guarantee the unrestrained publication of religious literature, Buddhist for example (at organization expense, of course), and authorize the translation of canonical works into the Buryat and Russian languages and the distribution of these publications among believers. Parents must have the right to educate their children in the religious spirit and to rent special places for this purpose. Naturally, the religious education cannot be carried out to the detriment of worldly education. The time has come to open a seminary in Buryatiya to train Lamaist clergymen.

Obviously, the authorization procedure for constructing, reconstructing, and repairing temples should be made substantially easier. Why, it is intolerable that, for all of Buryatiya (18 rayons!), only two temples have been operating. Believers, often elderly people, are compelled to travel a hundred or more kilometers to reach a temple. Clearly it is time to open new temples in places with dense settlements of believers (in Ulan-Ude and a number of rayon centers).

Rights Guarantees to the Center of Attention

M.I. Shakhnovich, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, professor at Leningrad State University:

The trouble with the existing law on religious sects is that many rights are just ceremoniously proclaimed. Both one thing and the other are permitted—but in reality? Guarantees of the proclaimed rights are required. If one may not, for example, hurt the believers' feelings and

"kindle enmity between believers and nonbelievers," then what is meant by this and what the punishment is should be spelled out in the law. In the FRG, certain anticlericals are being prosecuted for kindling enmity between believers and nonbelievers. Is there so much as one such criminal case here? I doubt it....

To Be a Legal Entity With Full Rights

S.S. Averiatsev, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences:

Contacts with foreign organizations are necessary

The most general principles are: The church should have, first, the status of a legal entity; second, the right of legislative initiative; and third, the authority to speak out on all matters concerning the human conscience, and to speak out independently, in accordance with the general laws on separation of church and state.

Article 52 of the USSR Constitution interprets freedom of conscience as freedom "to form religious sects or conduct atheistic propaganda." Such a formulation might be satisfactory if the believers were ancient pantheistic idolaters, for whom religious obligations boiled down to performing certain rites. However, the religion existing at present is a religion of conviction, a religion of concept propagation. The faith, for a believing person, is his or her conviction; only an apathetic or confused person will refuse to defend his or her convictions and propagate them to the extent of his or her abilities.

In summarizing the common democratic tradition, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Each person should have complete freedom, not only to adhere to whatever faith he or she wishes, but to propagate any faith...." In accordance with this principle, the 1918 constitution had the formulation: "The freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The matter of freedom of religious propaganda was peremptorily replaced by the matter of freedom to form sects only in the sadly remembered year of 1929. It seems that the time has come to return to the 1918 formulation.

A drastic increase in authority for the church to perform socially useful and charitable work is required, including the freedom of contacts, necessary for these purposes, with foreign organizations.

The issue of church representation in soviet [council] organizations, including the Supreme Soviet, has become unavoidable. In general, all of these issues should become the subjects of nationwide discussion.

Rid Ourselves of Prejudices

A.S. Shayevich, chief rabbi, Moscow Choral Synagogue:

We are living in an amazing time of revolutionary changes! The formation of machinery for a legal socialist state is in process, and we are discussing and adopting laws guaranteeing real rights to people. However, in my opinion, the true guarantee lies, not only in the legal acts and standards, but within us ourselves: We must rid ourselves of the mutual prejudices and fears between believers and atheists.

Notice how swiftly our society is democratizing itself! You know, a lot of antagonisms and injustices have accumulated in it over the long years. These must be banished from our social and spiritual life. The attitude toward believers has already changed strikingly.... Obviously, the new law will assure perestroyka's democratic ideas.

The Clergyman's Status

R.I. Gayautdinov, imam-(khatyb) of the Moscow Prayer House, chief Muslim spiritual leader:

Define the clergyman's status

The spiritual leader is entrusted with that which is most sacred and secret. His advice and support are sought in difficult moments. But, according to the existing law, he is in the position of his own congregation's employee. The "group of twenty" ["dvadtsatka"], headed by a chairman, determines even the clergyman's salary, and has the right to forbid whatever ceremony or official trip is disagreeable to it and not to permit the use of transportation, etc. The imam has no voice at the meetings in which the society's administrative and economic affairs are decided. He may not make a direct recommendation to, let us say, the ispolkom. Nor does the clergyman have the right to a pension or to other benefits (travel vouchers, etc.).

When the imam is invited to a small city, a house is bought for him: "The young specialist" cannot afford it (By the way, according to the law on taxes for persons of the clergyman's profession, adopted back in 1943, every fourth salary payment goes into state revenue). Is this not why the "group of twenty" tries to invite a local imam, who already has a place to live?

In large cities, resident registration is not guaranteed to a clergyman. If he is temporarily registered, the members of his family may not take jobs. He has to live for years separated from his wife and children.

I should hope that the clergyman's status will be clearly defined in the new law on freedom of conscience.

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'Society for Russian Culture' Created in Latvia

Russian Culture Society Appeal Outlines Goal, Positions

18000700 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 4

[Appeal by the initiative group of the Society of Russians in Latvia]

[Text] As we know, not long before the People's Forum of Latvia the Association of Sixteen National Cultural Societies of Latvia—ANKOL—was created. But even now there is no society within the association representing Russian Latvians. Only a Russian ANKOL support group existed. Today the founding group announces its intention to create this kind of society. Evidently to some extent its goals will coincide with the goals of the Russian Cultural Center of the Balto-Slavic Society [BSO] but there are some differences.

First, the cultural society being created will be a part of the aforementioned Association (as a kind of independent multi-national association BSO does not belong to it).

Second, the society being organized supports the cultural program of the Latvian People's Front [NFL].

Third, like the other ANKOL participants, the Society for National Russian Culture recognizes as real the dangers that threaten the language and culture of the Latvians and is intent upon making its contribution to eliminating these dangers.

Fourth, the society is open to all friends of Russian culture and Russian language regardless of nationality, social position or participation in other societies.

An important goal of the future society is the development of ties between Russian and Latvian culture.

Not limiting itself to republic boundaries, the society will turn for support to such recognized friends of Latvia and its culture as Sergey Zalyagin, Sergey Averintsev, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov, David Samoylov, Ivan Drach, Aleksandr Nikonov, Vitaliy Korotich, and Rygor Borodulin.

The specific actions of the society will be tied to the reestablishment of cultural traditions and memorials, with publishing and translation, theatrical and other beginnings, and with the amnesty movement.

The Society for National Russian Cultural does not pretend to represent anyone except those who want to participate. It does not recognize either for itself or for any other organization or movement the right of monopoly—of the hundred thousand Russians living in the

republic each must have the opportunity to select those cultural or other societies which most fully coincide with his views, inclinations and sympathies.

We intend to maintain the closest of ties with the Latvian Cultural Fund, the Rerikh Society, the creative unions of the BSO, the Orthodox Church and the Old Believer community, and with representatives of the Latvian intelligentsia, including scientific and technical.

That which has been stated are only the preliminary outlines of those ideas which are called upon to unite us. We invite anyone who desires to join the society, who shares the aforementioned goals and tasks or at least sees in them material for further discussion and elaboration to call telephone numbers 613027 or 403613 (during work hours) or to write to this address: Riga-29, P. O. Box 167.

[Signed] The Initiative Group.

Yuriy Abyzov, writer; Lyudmila Azarova, writer; Tatiana Arshavskaya, candidate of biological sciences; Roald Dobrovenskiy, writer; Yelena Zhzhenova, artist; Marina Kostenetskaya, writer; Mark Lebedev, Latvian SSR people's artist; Knuts Skuyenyek, writer; and Gennadiy Gorbanev, Latvian SSR people's artist, recipient of the Prize of the Latvian Leninist Komsomol and laureate in international competitions

Balto-Slavic Society Reply to Russian Culture Society Appeal

18000700 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 4

[Reply to the Appeal of the Initiative Group of the Russian National Cultural Society: "Openness and Cooperation"]

[Text] Any initiatives in the area of culture, if they are directed at spiritual enrichment, can only be welcomed. And no one has a monopoly.

Members of the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation, which began its activities in the "hot summer" of 1988, are happy that the ideas reflected in the Balto-Slavic Society [BSO] Manifesto, in their newspaper articles, in meetings and mainly in the numerous specific affairs, are being developed further. They are including in the renewal process the traditions of Russian culture in Latvia, the development of national social centers for Belorussians and Ukrainians and the acquaintance with the culture of the Latvian people by ever new fans. A significant event on the path laid by BSO was the creation of the People's Front [NF] of the Association of National Cultural Societies of Latvia (ANKOL).

The Russian Cultural Center of the Balto-Slavic Society has an understanding attitude to efforts to organize a Society for National Russian Culture (RNKO) within ANKOL and to the fact that the people of creative professions are attracted in active social activities.

The BSO Russian Cultural Center hopes that the stimulating motif for RNKO organizers was not the desire to create an alternative to the Balto-Slavic Society, but a sincere striving toward consolidation of the efforts of all to whom Russian culture is dear.

In connection with the fact that puzzling questions are posed with regard to the four differences that there seem to be between the Balto-Slavic Society and RNKO, the Russian Cultural Center feels it is necessary to declare:

—the only principal difference is the fact that the RNKO that is being formed is a part of ANKOL whereas the Balto-Slavic Society is an independent organization.

We do not belong to either NFL or Interfront [International Front].

We are proceeding toward our goal using our own path, having written the following words on our banner:

Democracy. Culture. Humanism.

And we want to be free on this path.

As for the other differences stated in the article by the RNKO founders, we were not able to isolate them. We also recognize the real dangers that threaten the language and culture of the Latvian people and are striving to deflect them through practical activities. The Russian Cultural Center, like the entire Balto-Slavic Society, is open to all nationalities regardless of their religion, social position and membership in other public and public-political organizations, which is fixed in our regulations and has entered everyday practice. (Thus in our ranks there are many members of NFL and IF [International Front], societies that are part of ANKOL).

We announce and confirm through deeds our openness toward concrete cooperation. We support friendly contacts with the Latvian Society of Hebrew Culture. Together with Dnipro [Ukrainian cultural society] we are preparing to celebrate Shevchenko Days in Latvia. Representatives of NFL and Interfront participated in discussing the plan for our ecological program and supported it. The leaders of the Environmental Protection Club agreed on participation in preparing for and carrying out the public trial we planned of specific guilty parties in the destruction of Yurmala and the Riga Strait and so on.

We hope that similar relations will develop between us and the new society, especially since some members of the founders group have participated more than once in our measures. There is nothing unexpected in the

appearance of another society—in pre-war Latvia, they tell us, there were 31 (!) Russian societies. But we hope that the RNKO organizers will not allow themselves to be pulled into the intrigues of forces which are striving to sow discord, separating people into "pure" and "impure," "old" and "new," "with roots" and without, of those individuals who participate in intrigue who are unhappy with the independent and constructive positions of the Balto-Slavic Society.

We sincerely wish the new society success in our common affairs.

[Signed] The BSO Coordinating Council

The Russian Cultural Center of the Balto-Slavic Society

Film Exposes Ecological Problems of Industrial Centers

18000677a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by R. Alekseyev under the rubric "Art and Document": "'Tired Cities': Film Summons People to Join the 'Ecological Guard'"]

[Text] In the years of the first five-year plans, the new cities which sprang up in places where the richest minerals were being mined were our pride. Fine-sounding formal reports in the newspapers notified people of the building of gigantic industrial and power-engineering complexes.

The enthusiasm of the masses was so great that it infatuated some of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, who firmly supported ecologically dangerous projects. The following saying invented by someone became popular: man can do anything—he is the ruler of nature.

Until recently we did not know the state that our cities which sprang up several decades ago but aged rapidly had reached from the standpoint of ecology.

The authors of the film "Tired Cities" (script writers V. Troyanovskiy and A. Rodnyanskiy, director A. Rodnyanskiy, and cameramen V. Guyevskiy and I. Ivanov, Kievnauchfilm, 1988) tell the audience about the extremely complex situation in which the major industrial centers of Zaporzhye, Magnitogorsk, Nizhniy Tagil, and Novokuznetsk find themselves.

The filming crew visited maternity homes and medical institutions in Zaporzhye. An unsightly picture was revealed: newborn babies are being fed mothers' milk which contains more than the tolerable level of harmful substances.

The film takes us to Nizhniy Tagil. There the people who have gathered for a rally angrily and indignantly demand that harmful enterprises be closed immediately and long-obsolete production facilities which are choking the city stop operations.

In Priozersk we visit, along with the film's authors, a courtroom where the former managers of the Priozersk Paper Combine, now closed by decision of the sanitary-epidemic office and under public pressure, are being charged.

Together with scientists, engineers, and doctors the film's authors try to determine the direction to take to bring us out of the ecological crisis. However, they only try. The film provides no specific and unequivocal solution to the situation which has arisen.

But then life itself has supplemented it and suggested how to fight for clean cities. A report from the session of the Sumy City Soviet of People's Deputies was recently received. The session adopted a decision to levy a tax on industrial enterprises. Polluters of the environment can expect sizeable penalties: either get rid of technological defects or pay the fines. In cases of above-norm emissions and effluents or storage of waste in unauthorized places the payment is raised many times over. Starting with the second quarter enterprises will begin to make contributions to the all-city treasury.

Why don't local soviets of other cities support the, in my opinion, timely economic sanctions of the people's deputies of the city of Sumy, who are forcing the enterprise collectives and their managers to fundamentally restructure their attitude toward the social development of city facilities?

The film "Tired Cities" is directed against the departmental-dictatorial approach of the ministries and its idea recalls the statement in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Yablokov, who said:

"The guarantee of solving the ecological problems is nationwide attention to them. The Fatherland is in ecological danger, and we all must join the ecological guard."

New Russian Encyclopedia To Include Nabokov, Solzhenitsyn

18000677b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 12, 22 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oleg Nikolayevich Trubachev, linguist and lexicologist, by Natalya Ivina under the rubric "Public Initiative"]

[Text] Most likely many readers have already heard that work is underway to create a Russian Encyclopedia. The public council to prepare it has been set up within the

All-Russian Cultural Fund. One could find out about that from, among other places, the television broadcast at the end of last year and from a number of articles in the central press.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oleg Nikolayevich Trubachev is head of the council. Our correspondent conducted an interview with him.

[Natalya Ivina] Oleg Nikolayevich, tell us please, why did the idea of a Russian Encyclopedia arise? Where did the need for it come from?

[Oleg Nikolayevich Trubachev] The idea arose naturally. The point is that all our Union republics—the Ukraine, Lithuania, Kirghizia—have their own multivolume encyclopedias. But, alas, there is no Russian Encyclopedia! Obviously, it was believed that the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, which first began to be published in the mid-1920's, filled all its functions entirely. There was a shift from one extreme to the other. The life of many periodical publications, collections, and almanacs entitled "russkoye" or "russkiy" [Russian]—RUSSKOYE SLOVO, RUSSKAYA MYSL, RUSSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, and others—came to an abrupt end in 1918. Of course, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia contains a significant amount of information on the Russian people and their language and culture, but it is clearly not enough. It is diluted in the mass of undoubtedly necessary information on Soviet state economic construction. But how many omissions there are! Some of them are even funny. I already talked once about how the Great Soviet Encyclopedia does not have the word "samovar," for example. The absence of an article on the samovar so surprised Josef Schutz, a West German professor and Slavist from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, that he published a whole book on the history of the samovar and tea in Russia over several centuries, beginning with the importation of the first two poods of tea given by the Mongol Altyn Khan to Aleksey Mikhaylovich.

The most diverse people speak and write to us about the necessity for a Russian Encyclopedia. The letters often also talk of how the RSFSR does not have its own Academy of Sciences and how there is no contemporary history of Russia. Despite all its importance, the "History" of Karamzin will soon be 200 years old and it is already a little out of date. Undoubtedly, Karamzin, and Tatishchev, and Solovyev, and Klyuchevskiy must be published and reprinted. But their works cannot compensate for the lack of new fundamental historical collections, for our views on past ages and on historical figures are developing and being refined. Not to mention the fact that history does not stand still.

[Ivina] The encyclopedias of the Union republics are not narrowly restricted to the one nation; they are universal, that is, they contain diverse information on world culture, the economy, and the like, but they are weighted to

specific national features. Thus, for example, you may find an article on Argentina or Titian Tabidze in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia. What will the nature of your encyclopedia be?

[Trubachev] The Russian Encyclopedia, as we conceive of it, will tell everything about the Russian people, its ethnic nature, its living environment, life, and history from its very sources, its economy, and its science. It will give information about all spheres of culture which were developed in Russian tradition by Russian and non-Russian people, by everyone—even distant friends of Russian culture—in different countries of the world.

The Russian Encyclopedia will have the knowledge available to us from the entire history of mankind, passed through Russian culture. Information on both the exact sciences and the humanities. It will be a kind of reflection of the "Russian picture of the world." After all, the Encyclopedia Britannica is also a "British view" of the world, if you will.

And there is another thing. The encyclopedia is being created in an altogether new time, when artificial borders should not exist between us and Russians abroad, who are a very large and culturally significant group. We hope that our foreign kin will take part in the work on the encyclopedia and we very much hope that all the best that is Russian, and not just Russian but friendly to Russian culture, in foreign countries will reach us.

In short, we do not want to do yet one more Soviet encyclopedia similar to those, forgive me, somewhat stereotypical publications of the type which exist in the Union republics and date back to the traditions of the 1920's. And, for example, that Argentina that you mentioned may end up in our encyclopedia partly because, just as in Romania and Poland, there is a Russian community there.

All the work will be carried on under two mottos. The first is maximally complete information. Take, for example, our cartography. I myself am an author of published books on toponymy and hydronymy which contain map illustrations. And I have almost always run into the problem that the degree gradations and some other details cannot be given. In other words, things that are not secret for the ordinary foreign tourist are kept locked and sealed by us. There are secrets everywhere! In our day there should be glasnost and full information in this seemingly "technical" area as well.

And the second motto is humanism, orientation to the human being.

[Ivina] Let's be more specific. Will your publication be the encyclopedia of the RSFSR or a Russian encyclopedia? Because in the first case it is necessary to mention all the many "small" peoples who inhabit the Russian Federation. In general, could each of them have their own encyclopedia?

[Trubachev] I want to stress again that this will be a Russian encyclopedia. By using this title we are "removing" all administrative, political, and territorial boundaries between us and Russians abroad. As for the peoples who inhabit the RSFSR and our neighbors, it would be odd to present the history of Russia as a sterile history divorced from all others. There is no question that those peoples who by the will of fate became part of Russia were in close contact with its indigenous population. These links, which are traced in language, history, culture, and art, will of course be reflected in the encyclopedia in one way or another. In some cases this will be a quick listing, while in others there will be expansive treatment. I think that there will be a special type of article about Russian-Mordvinian or Russian-Ukrainian relations, for example. Interethnic relations will be the focus of attention. After all, the history of Russia, just like the history of the Russian language, is a process of dealing with other ethnic groups and organized states.

[Ivina] How will the encyclopedia be organized?

[Trubachev] In alphabetical order as usual, that is, on the dictionary principle. Our immediate challenge is, through the efforts of the still-young (it has only existed since October 1988) public scientific council of the Russian Encyclopedia, to organize sections as quickly as possible so that they can get to work on the major scientific units. I will mention a few of them: Russian culture, material and spiritual, folklore, artistic literature, sociopolitical writing, chronicle writing, history, archeology, ethnography, the natural science cycle—sciences of the Russian land, the exact sciences, and, obviously, above all the participation of Russians in their development. Among the materials on spiritual culture will be articles on the Russian saints, church figures, and religious thinkers.

The field of Russian philosophy is beginning to be developed in earnest today. We are now talking openly about the persecution to which representatives of Russian idealistic philosophy were subjected, chiefly because of the religious character of their views. In the early 1920's many Russian philosophers were driven abroad and their names and publications were banned.

I am referring to some 400 Russian philosophers and figures in the field of philosophy. This information unit will include, of course, short theoretical articles and terms. For example, "Hegelianism in Russia," the "thing in itself," and "communality" ["sobornost"]. Incidentally, this last concept is not found in any contemporary interpretative dictionary of the Russian language. There will be references to them, which saves space in the personal articles.

[Ivina] What is the chronological framework of the Russian Encyclopedia? Probably it goes from Ancient Rus to the present day?

[Trubachev] I do not think that the beginning of Russian culture can be dated from the year 988. After all, Christian Rus grew unnoticed out of pre-Christian, pagan Rus, from the more ancient East Slavic conglomerate which, in its turn, arose from the preceding proto-Slavic cultural unity. We do not intend to create an encyclopedia beginning with the 10th Century. We want to go deeper and bring in archeological material. The final chronological boundary of the encyclopedia is the present day.

[Ivina] It appears that the greatest difficulties arise in connection with choosing the names of contemporary scientific and cultural figures for a Russian encyclopedia. After all, if the guarantee of "getting into" its pages is, as sometimes happens, receiving a certain honorary rank, say at least honored artist of the RSFSR, then some actors, for example Vladimir Vysotskiy, will simply not make it into your book.

[Trubachev] I personally oppose the bureaucratic approach to human beings. We will probably begin from the significance of the particular figure's contribution to our culture, from the place that the person actually occupies in it. And there will definitely be an article about Vladimir Vysotskiy, the poet and actor, in the Russian Encyclopedia.

[Ivina] Articles about writers in the Russian Encyclopedia unquestionably should not duplicate similar articles in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia or, for example, in the Concise Literary Encyclopedia. The very title "Russian Encyclopedia" dictates certain definite characteristics. Will there be articles of the "Russia and Pushkin" type where you can trace how Pushkin's idea of Russia was formed and changed, or will you attempt to identify a particular writer's "Russian picture of the world" on the intuitive emotional level as was done, for example, in G. Gachev's book "Natsionalnyye obrazy mira" [Ethnic Images of the World]?

[Trubachev] Of course there cannot be a question of duplication, if for no other reason than the fact that new material from archives and research is constantly appearing and broadens our ideas of particular writers and problems.

The guideline we have selected of offering the most complete material possible obligates us to a balanced presentation of facts from the standpoint of contemporary research thought with full consideration for everything done earlier.

[Ivina] What is the criterion for choosing writers for the Russian Encyclopedia? Will it be nationality, the language in which the works are written, place of residence, or something that could be called affiliation with Russian culture?

[Trubachev] Above all it will be association with Russian culture in the broadest sense.

[Ivina] It is easier to demonstrate this thought with concrete examples. Will O. E. Mandelstam, for example, go into the encyclopedia?

[Trubachev] Of course. Osip Mandelstam wrote in Russian. He is an inalienable part of Russian culture. How could he be taken out of a Russian encyclopedia for any reason? Or I. Levitan! He is so much linked with Russian culture, with Russian art, in general with the face of central Russian, with Ples. For us Levitan is a Russian artist. I will say the same thing about Pasternak.

Guided by this principle, we must unquestionably include V. Nabokov and A. Solzhenitsyn in the encyclopedia, even in light of all the drama of the latter's relations with the Soviet Power. We will give encyclopedic information about them in full.

In short, the criteria are these: association with Russian culture and, of course, the language in which the artist worked.

[Ivina] Yes, but language cannot always be the main criterion. What would happen with Chadayev then, who wrote his famous "Philosophical Letters" in French?

[Trubachev] And all the same was entirely within the orbit of Russian culture.

Nonetheless, when we talk about writers the main criterion is language. However, as an example, in the article about Nabokov as a Russian writer I do not consider it shameful to evaluate his English-language works.

[Ivina] Will we be able to find Ch. Aytmatov in the Russian Encyclopedia?

[Trubachev] Aytmatov is a Russian-language writer. And it seems to me that all Russian-language writers must be represented. Who read Aytmatov first of all? Russian readers. And they are also part of Russian culture. The encyclopedia will give an evaluation of Aytmatov's contribution to Russian culture.

[Ivina] Well, what about artists? Pavel Kuznetsov, for example, who painted Kirghizia and the Eastern steppe?

[Trubachev] What does it matter? Vereshchagin painted India too. But it is Russian art about India.

[Ivina] And Mark Chagall? Who is he as an artist—Frenchman, Jew, or Russian?

[Trubachev] Yes, that kind of extraterritorial character best describes the example of Chagall. Perhaps I should admit that I am not adequately educated concerning avant-garde art. Or maybe I am just not inclined toward avant-gardism and modernism. However, I do not want to impose my opinion on anyone. But I really do not know how to classify Chagall's art relative to Russian

culture. Speaking generally, the "ethnic etiquette" in the works of avant-gardism and modernism is always poorly attached, so to speak, and any breeze can blow it away.

[Ivina] All the same, in my view, avant-garde art is not without roots, and it is not accidental that the concept of the "Russian avant-garde" (with all its diversity and lack of uniformity) exists.

But to continue our discussion of Chagall, one must certainly take into account that the great artist did not forget Russia, Vitebsk, and much later, while living in Paris, returned to it in his creative work. And what will happen with other brilliant representatives of the Russian avant-garde, for example Malevich and Filonov?

[Trubachev] I am ready to admit honestly that I simply do not know much about the creative work of either Chagall or Filonov. Of course, no one can shut his eyes to the fact that there was a stage of avant-gardism and modernism in Russian culture and in Russian painting. It is a stage that finds continuation today as well.

Therefore it is obvious that our encyclopedia needs to include all the names you have mentioned, for I promised at the beginning that we will be as truthful and informative as possible.

[Ivina] What kind of articles will the Russian Encyclopedia have—will they be evaluations or informative? So many different viewpoints and positions have emerged today: some like realism only, while others prefer variations of avant-gardism, and still others accept everything. Isn't it a good idea then to begin from the principle of equal, "informative" support for everything, including the best specialists in each field of knowledge in the work?

[Trubachev] As I have already said, the basis should be the principle of complete information, which does not preclude an individual view of the particular phenomenon. After all, all the articles in the encyclopedia will be authored. Of course there needs to be healthy pluralism. We do not intend to dictate a single view of things and implacably condemn everything that we do not agree with.

[Ivina] In that case it is obvious that a great deal will depend on the authors of the articles. But we are getting the impression that the members of your council (I am thinking of the humanities) do not have the great diversity of schools of thought which characterize our literature and culture. What do you intend to do to keep your encyclopedia from a certain one-sidedness in its approach to phenomena?

[Trubachev] I would say in response that pluralism is a collective thing that is unrealistic in a single person. You like one thing; sometimes I like the same thing, and sometimes not.

And if, for example, I am commissioned to do an article for the encyclopedia I will naturally hold to my own idea, my own view, in writing it. But because there will be many authors, and very different ones, in the encyclopedia you will be able to read one thing, another, and still another. There is no question that this will be a work which has its own editorial board and is now represented by its own council. But the whole point is that we do not intend to impose a set idea that is mandatory for everyone. This is where the new thinking, which precludes any kind of dictatorial approach, should emerge.

[Ivina] Can specialists who want to participate in the work apply to you?

[Trubachev] They can and they already are. In addition, we ourselves are contacting many of them.

[Ivina] Do you contemplate a subscription to the encyclopedia?

[Trubachev] That question is premature. There are other problems. The Russian Encyclopedia right now is a publishing initiative that has not been established yet, that does not have its own printing facilities at the present time. After all, just to prepare to carry out such a huge task we already need a place, a bibliographic service, and our own staff. But all we have today are a few staff units. However, the leaders of the USSR and RSFSR State Committees for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade are ready to talk with us. It is not impossible that we could have cooperation of a different kind, for example on an international basis. After all, we live in a new age and our encyclopedia is entirely the child of this age.

Permit me to mention one more important organizational event of the last month. On 15 February the board of directors of the All-Russian Cultural Fund ratified the "Russian Encyclopedia" Cultural Center with its by-laws. This action was supported by a number of founding organizations. We are giving notice of a new account of the "Russian Encyclopedia" Cultural Center: 700014 at the Progressbank commercial bank. Current bank account No 161801 in the Dzhersinskiy Branch of Zhilsotsbank, city of Moscow, MFO 201638. In short, we are counting very much on public enthusiasm, on public contribution of funds.

[Ivina] The last thing: will there be any kind of general scientific or organizational sponsorship of the Russian Encyclopedia?

[Trubachev] No, there will not. Our encyclopedia is a free public initiative. We are proud of this, but it does not follow from this that we are experiencing any anxiety for the fate of our unique undertaking.

Reorganization, Decentralization of Cultural Mechanism in Estonia

18000871 Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian
No 3, Mar 89 pp 8-14

[Article by Ya. Kaarma, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture: "The Phenomenon of Culture in a Time of Breakthrough"]

[Text] The time that has elapsed since April of last year, when the combined plenum of the creative unions of the Estonian SSR was held, has marked a breakthrough for the whole cultural life of the republic. A breakthrough in many respects. First of all, we have begun to take a much broader view of culture as such; our approach to it differs radically from the way it was in recent decades.

To Professor Yuriy Lotman belongs this cautionary idea, which is profoundly philosophical in terms of generalization: Culture is something which cannot be got along without. The depressing thing is that for many long years it was—consciously or unconsciously, but day in and day out—accompanied by an official cultural policy. This was reflected in the fact that the concept of culture was relegated to the sphere of "spare time," it was reflected in barbaric prohibitions on the construction of cultural facilities, the application of the so-called leftover principle, the domination of a primitive but obligatory model of development of the arts, and so on. In the long run, all of this constituted a great hindrance to the development of our culture.

At the same time, the experience constituted proof of the inexhaustible inner motive powers of the people and their culture. The state of our society today is characterized by the growth of the importance of the phenomenon of culture, the emergence of culture into the center of social attention. Culture and the extent to which its problems are resolved are interpreted as a measure of social progress.

In the second place, in just one year culture has been naturally and surely liberated from narrow departmentalism. It is not, nor can it evermore be, the concern of one department. The rise of a whole new social structure, active and vigorous, constitutes one of the very important, genuine results of the restructuring of political life. Now constituting organic, influential factors of our social life are the creative unions' Culture Council, the Culture Fund, the Society for the Protection of Monuments of Antiquity, the Children's Fund, and dozens of other unions, organizations, and societies all designed to foster the development of culture and resolve its problems. Let me note one fact that is paramount: Problems of cultural policy are constantly at the focus of attention of the Estonian Communist Party and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet as well as an object of the political initiative of the People's Front. Since World War II, Estonian culture has never witnessed such an optimistic time as the present period of its acknowledgment and emancipation.

In the third place, the measure of spiritual/intellectual emancipation and free thought—the fundamental condition for artistic creativity—has risen by one order of magnitude. It is defined by the fact that the party's cultural policy rejects orthodox models of the creative process as well as methods of administrative pressure. Socialist pluralism of opinions and the liberation of history from archival dungeons and the fetters of official doctrines have opened up new temporal, thematic, geographic, and philosophical horizons. Under the fundamentally new cultural conditions, one can even discern a certain amount of creative confusion on the part of the artistic intelligentsia.

In the context of the present cardinal political transition period, internal problems in the arts have retreated to the background. The general atmosphere of glasnost has diminished their journalistic aspects [publitsistichnost]. The elucidation of formerly closed or concealed themes and spheres has not, initially, been accompanied by high artistic skills. And there is no reason to expect any immediate major accomplishments from those who have only recently had horizons opened to them. Men are involved in politics, while women are finding their way in the new spiritual/intellectual environment.

With the stabilization of the new policies and the new political structure, the role of the artistic intelligentsia is changing once more. It is changing but not diminishing. Culture is called upon to deal with one of the most important tasks: that of giving (returning?) the eternal humanistic values to society, creating a new ethical system, restoring faith in a just society, faith in the possibility of the people's spiritual/intellectual and material wellbeing, in the perfecting and stability of democratic institutions.

As we analyze the cultural situation now, we must also grasp the new, all-union context of culture that has been brought into being by perestroika. All over our country, the advanced creative intelligentsia is emerging as the initiator of renewal, the guarantor of the irreversibility of the policy of glasnost. Whereas in many places there is an ongoing search for ideals and principles of endeavor to which to return, our history provides us no analogy to serve as the model for the development of contemporary culture. The new policies in the field of culture can only be a component part of the new political system. As in society as a whole, the revolution in culture is now measured not by the sequence of liberalization but by the guarantee of revolutionary freedom, by the shaping of a society which embodies the new ethical ideas.

Justification of Existence

As an organ of state administration the Committee for Culture is quite new—it was created in July of last year. Although the Committee does not view itself as the heir of previous systems which are now combined—they

were not reorganized but liquidated—it continues to deal with problems of cultural life and supports the work of the state institutions of culture.

Going by the list of the Committee's subunits, its structure may appear complex, but only at a cursory glance. Let us not forget that in our system of state administration there is probably no other organ involved in so many functions. Its apparatus consists of eight subunits. The chain of command has been reduced to the minimum, consisting as it does of two levels—the chief of administration and a chief (leading) specialist. The idea of the Committee's structure is to ensure both efficiency and competence in the work.

It is essential that this structure be backed up by the whole Committee's orientation toward providing culture with material and spiritual/intellectual resources, toward shattering the links of stagnation and creating new, more modern and dynamic links.

The Committee for Culture bears enormous responsibility. Are we up to the task of serving as a state organ which regulates the cultural process, one which creative people will not have to quarrel with constantly in exercising their natural rights? Alienation can be thwarted only by continuously renewing the atmosphere of spirituality/intellectuality in the apparatus of the Committee for Culture, in which creative workers themselves will be involved. This requirement cannot be supplanted either by collaboration with the creative unions nor by other social forms of getting figures in the arts involved in the administration of culture. Although in each specific case, the question arises as to whether we, having invited some creative individual to work in the Committee, will know how to determine properly what is most important for culture today—the artist's direct contribution to the arts via several of his works, or the mite which he contributes to the overall development of culture via his intellectual qualities and organizing activities.

At present, all the main and leading specialists of the Committee for Culture are recognized experts in their field and have a specialized education. Plans also call for regularly enlisting specialists from other institutions and workers of the free professions on a contract basis. Nevertheless, Committee staffers' doubts as to their own competence must serve as an ethical principle.

Concerns and Hopes

We approach our own activities with a certain amount of caution, due to the "legacy" of our predecessors, on the one hand, and the reorganization of the republican scheme of administration, which used to rule out the possibility of democratic debate, on the other. So that the advisability of creating the Committee for Culture can, with equal success, be both justified and placed in doubt.

The merger of the Ministry of Culture, Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade], and Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] in order to channel their activities along the same lines, has by no means proceeded without difficulties, and evidently it will not be completed even by the time this article is published. Bureaucratic mechanisms' resistance and attempts to preserve themselves are exceptionally strong, and in addition, things are not going all that smoothly with our own efforts to restructure the work.

For example, the creation of the Litera Association appears to be rather formalistic in terms of the merger. Essentially nothing has changed in the activities of the publishing houses, nor are there any economic or moral prerequisites for radical improvement of the situation. Clarification is especially essential in such matters as the direction of publishing policies, the economic mechanism for regulating relations between the publishing houses and printing plants, paper supplies (or manufacture?), accelerated technological improvement of printing processes and supplying the necessary cadres, and so on.

The centralized cinema network is being reorganized. From now on, movie theaters will be a part of the local cultural complex. They will be managed, and their financial and economic problems will be decided, by the executive committees; this is designed to replace departmental interests with concern for serving the people's cultural needs. Our Committee's intermediary firm Mee-dium, which functions on a cost-accounting basis, rents films to the movie theaters on contract and at fixed rates. The Firm also directs the cinema repertory policy in Estonia, acquiring films, supplying them with subtitles, organizing advertising, and so on.

The economic mechanism of the State Philharmonic is also being reorganized, and the principles of organizing concert activities are being revised. The Philharmonic will retain everything having to do with serious music, while arranging concerns of light music will require a separate organization to take account of the new conditions.

The former Scientific-Methodology Center of the Ministry of Culture is completely ripe for reorganization.

Shaping of the Concept

Perestroika, which overturned our previous idea about culture and cultural policy, at the same time revealed the lack of a concept of the development of culture. Disputes continue as to whether some fixed concept is necessary at all—whether it might lead to the imposition of particular notions instead of others. This is, of course, a worthwhile theme for discussion, but one thing is clear: the work must be well-considered; we must be aware of what we are doing and what are the short-term and long-range consequences of today's decisions and initiatives.

A deeper examination of the trends of cultural policy—or, in other words, the concept of culture—in recent decades demonstrates with stunning clarity the fact that the command form of development, however beautifully and loftily it may be set forth, in reality constitutes an implacable brake on development itself. In actuality, the ideological model of cultural development of that period was derived from negative premises. The primary focus was on determining what was undesirable or forbidden, what needed to be combatted. Party and state organs' cultural work was deemed most successful when the liberal spirit was totally emasculated, when the process of cultural development was forced into extremely narrow channels.

Having condemned this phenomenon fairly successfully, we are now perplexed and distracted, for we do not know whether we have finally achieved what we wanted or whether we still have more to achieve. We are marking time in place, undecided whether to move forward or back. We talk about whether we can start all over from some starting point, or whether we must inevitably continue from where we have, willy-nilly, wound up. Is it wiser to do a rewind, to return essentially to the 1930s, or to resume from today's level of culture and thought?

Unity is acknowledged by dialectics as a potential state of the moment. A unity of views is what the whole official ideology of the period of stagnation strove toward. In fact, something ominous and frightening lurks in the requirement of a unitary concept of culture. Although one of the prime conditions of our forward advance is a uniform interpretation, by the basic political forces of society, of our goals and the main ways to attain them, unity nevertheless also calls for respecting and acknowledging different thinking, different visions of the world. Do we have the intelligence to withstand the temptation, under direct or indirect administrative pressure, covert or overt psychological terror, to compel those who criticize us to "think right"?

A concept of culture should be viewed as a dynamic, constantly developing system of goals, views, and motives of activity. It should be a constant topic of debate, always on the agenda, subject to amendment and reevaluation. If there is anything in it that can be absolute, it would only be shared humane, democratic, and moral principles.

Our method of shaping the concept of culture is broad and open debate, the scientific study and forecasting of development. By order of the Committee, an IME [self-managing Estonia] working group has begun to function in the field of culture, designed to work out a new economic mechanism for the culture of Estonia. A Development Center affiliated with the Committee is called upon to deal with scientific-methodological problems of culture, routine implementation of ideas originated by us or by others, generalization of phenomena in cultural life, and analysis of the effectiveness of our own decisions. It seems advisable to combine current courses

for upgrading the qualifications of cultural workers with the Center. Next autumn the Committee is planning a scientific-practical conference on the concept of culture. It would be a good idea to collaborate with the Academy of Sciences and the VUZes of the Estonian SSR in seeking ways to expand research along the most topical and fundamental lines.

Culture and Commerce

In principle, culture is not a cost-accounting sector of the economy. It has never been such anywhere in the world, and it is not now. The level of financing of culture is a measure of a society's social development. Although new forms and possibilities for redistributing income are constantly appearing under our socialist system, the state's cultural policy is still shaped chiefly on the basis of the state budget. Culture's share in the structure of the budget of the Estonian SSR merits separate study, because it is rather difficult to determine evaluative and comparative criteria. The material—and hence, critical—backwardness of our culture is depressing, and it is getting worse.

For many years the development and financing of culture was treated like charity. On the broader plane, concern for culture requires the creation and renovation of a general atmosphere of spirituality/intellectuality and moral values of society—the most important factors of all social development, including material development.

This by no means entails that it is impossible or unnecessary to practice wise management in the sphere of culture, that culture cannot be a source of specific material profit which is stimulated by economic levers. Quite the contrary. Until now, the present economic mechanism has clearly hindered the development of culture.

The economics of culture in our country have been totally neglected and now require urgent and radical renovation. Without radical reform of prices, norms, rates, and wages (honoraria) we will never get moving. We can only hope for culture to flourish when we begin to manage the sector in a cultured manner. We have had to wait a long time for all-union reforms, but many of our expectations have been "rewarded" with half-way measures. What is preventing us from administering Estonia's culture wisely ourselves?

IME in the Aspect of Culture

A variety of cultures is one of mankind's achievements, a firm guarantee of the preservation of nations. In the implementation of the IME concept, culture is assigned a very multifaceted role. It derives not only from the direct participation by substantial forces of Estonia's creative intelligentsia in working out the ideas of IME

but also from the fact that culture is one of the components of the social-political background of the new economic mechanism, a sector of the economy that is of independent importance.

Our Committee considers that the fundamental basis for realizing the expectations of IME in the field of national culture is to launch culture-intensive production as a priority endeavor in Estonia, one which has traditional potential, prospects for relatively rapid emergence on the international market, and thereby prospects for promoting the republic's social development.

In particular, four spheres of production are envisioned. They are: publishing activities combined with the printing industry; the production of audio and video tapes, cassettes, and disks, films and other cultural items; "art-intensive" production along lines worked out by Ars combines; and making Estonia a center of international cultural events.

Decentralization and Deconcentration

In all statements concerning the prospective development and conceptual foundations of the national culture, the need to decentralize cultural administration and entrust Estonia's cultural life fully to local authorities and figures of culture is set forth. Emphasis is placed on the necessity of deconcentrating our cultural potential; people are not in favor of concentrating cultural institutions of republic significance, and the absolute majority of the intellectual forces of culture, in Tallinn.

The principles and solutions to problems behind them are exceptionally important for the preservation and development of our national culture. In my opinion, it is entirely feasible to decentralize the administration of culture in the near future. All questions involving the organization of local cultural life should gradually be transferred to the jurisdiction of the ispolkoms [executive committees], and this must be done in an integrated way—from resources to the powers of the authorities. Then the tasks of the Center would be to implement cultural policy and provide state support for local initiatives in culture.

Obviously, the Committee for Culture will continue to provide centralized methodological aid to rayon-level cultural institutions, organize cadre retraining and republic-level events, and help the rayons to design or build modern cultural centers.

I am skeptical about moving cultural institutions outside Tallinn. I believe that building a new opera theater, art museum, and art gallery in Tallinn is the only correct decision, especially considering the cultural complex and its prospects as they stand today. And I by no means deny the necessity of constructing a new, modern building for the Tartu Art Museum in the very near future. As far as other completely new cultural facilities of republic importance are concerned, it will be necessary to seek

out possibilities for locating them outside the capital city. Of exceptional importance in this regard is the initiative of the cities and rayons themselves.

On Improving the Humanities in Education

From whatever aspect we view the development of culture, we inevitably come up against the need to humanize education. Until now, policies in the sphere of education have been decidedly negligent or even hostile toward those school disciplines in the system of upbringing which shape the intellectual qualities and moral character of the individual. The content of the humanities has been impoverished and standardized, the number of hours has been systematically reduced, and so on. We had come to an especially dangerous point just prior to the advent of perestroika. Primitive treatment of labor upbringing would deal one more severe blow to the school system.

From the standpoint of propagandizing the humanities and enhancing the spiritual/intellectual qualities of cultural life, we can only welcome the initiative of figures in culture who are calling for the creation of schools and institutes outside the traditional system of education, institutions which would provide supplementary and even basic education. This would involve reviving the Tartu Art Institute, the creation of a humanities institute in Tallinn, a Goethe Institute, and so on. The new structure would fill a fundamental gap and foster a vigorous cultural life. This initiative merits the moral and material support of the Committee for Culture.

Our Committee supports the Committee for Education in matters of humanizing general education and modernizing the teaching of specialists in culture, whether in the VUZes or the technicums. The idea of creating an institute or college of culture in Vilyandi should be implemented on a joint basis.

Opening Frontiers

With the sharp reduction in administrative, ideological, and bureaucratic restrictions on foreign relations, a completely new situation has been created for cultural policy. Estonian culture has also been given the opportunity to be compared and prove itself in the international arena, simultaneously absorbing new influences. Through genuine interaction we are beginning to comprehend its actual worth.

To what extent are ideas about Estonian culture, and its development, affected by rapid integration with so-called Estonian culture abroad? Now, when new relations are coming into being and old ones are being reevaluated, in the fervor of mutual discoveries of phenomena of culture we may be inclined toward an excessively enthusiastic evaluation of their nature and prospects. Unquestionably, however, the growing cultural exchange will qualitatively enrich the national culture.

The opening of frontiers is reflected primarily in the development of cultural contacts with organizations, cultural circles, and individual figures of culture in a number of Western countries. On the one hand, these contacts bear the stamp of a foreign and to some extent opportunistic interest in Estonia; on the other, they reflect the restricted nature of any and all relations until just recently. Many links that have come into being so far are the result of rather unsystematic and, one might say, even casual contacts. It is time for the Committee for Culture to begin to regulate these relations and interpret them in a conceptual manner. While supporting all kinds of contacts in principle, we must be aware of the limits of our own resources in the context of unlimited new requirements—both in terms of hard currency and Soviet rubles and in terms of cultural exchange values.

The concept of developing foreign ties, as worked out by the Committee for Culture, is based on increasing imports of spiritual/intellectual values and taking part independently in international cultural life. We must also make maximum use of opportunities for training cultural workers and improving their skills in the best foreign cultural centers.

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Holdings Of Formerly Closed Archives In Ukraine Described

18000711 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
16 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Ye. Pozdnyakova under the rubric "Details for PRAVDA UKRAINY": "'Rehabilitated' Books Are Returning From the Closed Stacks to the Library Shelves"]

[Text] It was not all that long ago that when requesting a certain book, the reader was turned down because the given publication was in the closed stacks. One had to obtain special permission in order to get into the secret special depository. Today, for all practical purposes, there is easy access to these publications.

An interdepartmental commission, which was formed approximately two years ago to examine the combined list of publications that have been excluded from the library depositories and the book trade, has liberated thousands of books from the special depositories.

Our correspondent visited one of the largest libraries in the country, the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Central Scientific Library named in honor of the academician V. Vernadskiy, and was curious about how the return of literature, which had previously been inaccessible to broad circles of readers, to the open stacks is proceeding.

Nikolay Ivanovich Senchenko, the director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Central Scientific Library, stated,—fiction, technical, and scientific literature has been accumulating in the closed stacks for decades—approximately since the 30's. You must admit that it is difficult to place tens of thousands of books on the shelves in the open stacks in a short period of time. One must find a place for the book, describe it, reflect it in the catalog, and enter the appropriate information into the computer. The work, which requires particular scrupulousness and responsibility, does not permit haste. Among the books, which have been "rehabilitated" and have already found their way to the open catalogs, roughly five and a half thousand titles fall to the share of Ukrainian authors.

[Correspondent] On what basis did one or another book end up in the annals of the closed stacks?

[Senchenko] This is the work of political figures, such as, Kosior, Postyshev, and Skripnik. It includes literature, which was published in the territory of the Western Ukraine up to 1939. Such prominent figures in Ukrainian culture as Mikola Khvylovyi, Mikola Zerov, and Mikhaylo Dray-Khmara fell into the company of the disgraced...

We are standing near empty shelves with Larisa Aleksandrovna Degtyarenko, the head librarian of the closed stacks, and books, which have been prepared for transfer to the open stacks, are lying on the tables and windowsills.

[Degtyarenko] Sometimes one was filled with wonder as to why a certain book was sent to us. But later, after thumbing through it, one would venture a guess: How do you like that, it was printed in the N. Bukharin printing house. This was reason enough.

I took an imposing volume from the stack. It was a collection of articles entitled "Vinok. Tarasu Shevchenku Pismenniki Narodiv SRSR", published by Derzhlitvidav publishing house in 1939 commemorating the 125th anniversary of Kobzar. In the table of contents the title of one of the articles and the name of its author was scratched out and in the book itself, page 91 came immediately after page 85—the pages containing the article were torn out. The struggle against "the enemies of the people" sometimes assumed such barbaric forms.

A significant amount of valuable research and eyewitness accounts of direct participants, by way of illustration, in the literary process in the Ukraine. One can read the two-volume bibliography by A. Leytesa and M. Yashchuk entitled "Desyat Rokiv Ukrainskoi Literaturi" (1917-1927) like a very fascinating novel. And even though in the past it did not remain on the shelves too long, in order to work with it now, one would have to bring the proper letters of indemnity, recommendations, etc.

Many specialists have expressed the hope that with the opening of the closed stacks, a breakthrough should occur on the humanities front. It is not by mere chance that the academician Likhachev feels that libraries are more important than universities for the development of a country's intellectual potential. It goes without saying that everyone, who works in the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Central Scientific Library, is extremely sympathetic to this thought of the academician.

How will the "rehabilitated" books reach the average reader and how will information about the most interesting and valuable publications be organized?

Very interesting exhibitions of books, which have been returned to the people, have already been presented in the library, itself and in the Kiev branch of the V. I. Lenin museum. The exhibitions included primarily

books written in the Ukrainian language: classical literature from the pre-October period, works by pioneers in Soviet literature, the works of V. I. Lenin, and memoirs concerning Lenin.

Larisa Aleksandrovna stated,—I think that the collection of the memoirs of the old guard Party members "Revolutsiya i RKP(b) v Materialakh i Dokumentakh" or the collection "Zhovten na Ukraini" will be of interest not only to historians.

The complete works of Mikhaylo Grushevskiy and the complete works of Mikola Skripnik have been returned to the open stacks...

[Pozdnyakova] The librarians' workload has increased, but how has the reader reacted to the new situation?

[Degtyarenko] Approximately 700 new readers have recently joined the library.

**Gagra International Symposium on Alcoholism,
Drug Addiction**

18300542 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Apr 89 second edition p 3

[Article by N. Anisin, special correspondent: "Prescriptions for Drug Addiction: Non-Health-Resort Thoughts from the International Symposium in Gagra"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The universal problem of drug addiction does not threaten us. That is what we assumed for quite a long time. We reckoned up the number of alcoholics and drug addicts in the West, and we failed to notice them in our own country. But then glasnost came along, and we discovered the following facts: 5 million of our fellow-citizens have the disease of alcoholism, and 53,000 suffer from drug addiction. Such are the data from the USSR Ministry of Health. But how many who suffer from these ailments are not registered in the health-care organs?

Amid all the disputed opinions about numbers, nobody denies that the epidemic of diseases caused by the use of psychodelic substances is increasing. A great number of people are in need of treatment. How can present-day medicine respond to this growing epidemic?

At the end of March Gagra was the site of the first international symposium of drug experts; taking part therein were prominent specialists from 15 European and American countries. In some places the problems of alcoholism and drug addiction are more acute, and in some places—less so, but alarm has been caused everywhere. Physicians and scientists assembled together in order to teach each other and learn from each other.

The symposium lasted for three whole days. Approximately 50 persons delivered reports or reports from their seats at the meetings. Innovations were presented: those things which have already proved their effectiveness and those which still evince doubts. Much was impressive. It turns out that there are sets of tests with whose help it is easy to ascertain the extent of affliction by psychodelic substances and to make a precise diagnosis. A considerable number of medications have been developed which allow a patient to get over acute physical disability within a short period of time. For example, one of them by a single injection immediately removes the condition of abstinence and eliminates the pathological craving for alcohol. Together with medications, drug experts nowadays can treat their patients successfully by using various forms of psychotherapy, electric stimuli, and acupuncture. In my opinion, the symposium convincingly demonstrated that the possibilities of present-day drug-addiction treatment are great. And it would seem that all we have to do is to equip ourselves with all the best things in worldwide therapy, and the number of alcoholics and drug addicts in the country will begin to be sharply curtailed. But, alas, drug expertise in and by itself solves little.

Alcoholism and drug addiction are biological in their natures by social in their causes. And, therefore, in order to treat them successfully, we must combine the efforts of medicine and public opinion.

Let's listen to Moscow's principal drug expert, E. Drozdov: "Among the 140,000 alcoholics registered at our city's district drug-addiction offices, 95 percent are in the most serious stages of the disease. Physicians are still able, however, to help them with this ailment. But who will help them to trust their own strength again, to restore their own reputations as human beings and citizens? Their families? But a person with the disease of alcoholism usually always has an unstable family. Their labor collectives? Their housing committee? Some sort of public organization? But all of these units are geared merely to wage a struggle against alcoholics rather than to help them. Our official public opinion, unfortunately, sees in the alcoholic merely a dissipated, vice-prone person, one who can be influenced solely by punishment. But, of course, every alcoholic is primarily a sick person. And he must be regarded as a sick person, bearing in mind that no kinds of punishment can cure a person. He can be cured only by sympathy and cooperative participation."

E. Drozdov's words express what I had occasion to hear from many drug experts at this symposium: the acuteness of the problems of alcoholism and drug addiction cannot be removed without creating programs of social aid to those persons with this disease: it is not intolerance but pity which must be manifested toward them.

"He was no longer a young person," stated Professor A. Gabiani from Tbilisi. "He was a former drug addict whom I had cured. He was working and enjoyed a good reputation in his collective. We persuaded him to take part in a television interview. In a half-hour conversation with us he talked about the underground world of drug users and dealers. The broadcast proved successful, and in due course it was shown two or three times on Georgian Television. Then we found out that our interviewee had been fired from his job. And when his acquaintances learned about his past, they rejected him. Nor did we succeed in restoring his good name."

Public opinion these days does not strengthen but, on the contrary, suppresses the attempt by a patient to break away from alcohol or drugs. It is capable merely of punishing but not of treating and curing. Time and effort are needed in order to change this. And here we should certainly not be ashamed to study foreign experience. In the United States, for example, even very influential and popular persons, including the directors of major companies, not only do not conceal their own former addiction to alcohol or drugs, but even appear on television, where they talk about their disease and the detailed circumstances of its cure. Their reputations do not suffer, but rather are enhanced by this. The much-ballyhooed senate non-confirmation of a secretary of defense does not count; it was a special case. Ordinarily,

however, a public confession by a former alcoholic or drug addict only adds to his respect in the eyes of public opinion. How did it manage to evolve in such a manner? This question is not just an idle one for us.

The interest of our specialists has definitely been aroused toward the organization of the social rehabilitation of patients in the United States. For example, patients of the well-known American professors M. Shakit [?] from the University of California and V. Miller from the University of New Mexico, after in-patient, hospital-type treatment, as a rule, usually come right away under the care of various organizations, including charitable ones, which take upon themselves the trouble of finding spiritually compatible work for the patient, as well as introducing him to a circle of persons whose leisure-time activities do not include alcohol and drugs. If I correctly understood these respected professors, they do not regard their work of treating people as something separate from the activities of those persons who engaged in socially rehabilitating patients. The patient is passed, so to speak, from hand to hand, from a person who cures him of his ailment to persons who want and are able to help him to avoid the disorders of living. Taken into account herein are personal inclinations and sympathies so that the relations between the persons doing the caring and those being cared for are built up on a foundation of unconstrained, human sharing. But our physicians' ties with those who could care for patients are extremely weak, while that aid which is sometimes rendered to patients of drug clinics by certain organizations is usually impersonal. We obviously must learn some basic things about the fine art of social aid to patients.

We must also learn some new things about the prevention of alcoholism and drug addiction. Of the at least 10 Soviet drug experts with whom I had occasion to talk during the symposium, not one recognized our present-day system of prevention as acceptable. Moreover, its principal foundations were subjected to doubts. Here is the viewpoint of G. Lezhava, an authoritative Soviet scientist and director of the Scientific Drug Study Center of Georgia's Ministry of Health: "The main thing that ties our hands up in preventive work is the unrealistically assigned goal. According to the official positions, we are supposed to achieve a situation whereby our people do not drink any alcohol at all: for to drink in our country, although it is not prohibited, is not permitted either. Everybody knows the punishments for abusing alcoholic beverages; several ones have been provided for. But this means that a Soviet citizen is not permitted to be imperfect. What impells a person to take to drink without any sense of restraint? The desire to shut himself off, or, as the common people say, to cut himself off from reality. For the most diverse reasons: the discrepancy between aspirations and ability, between ambition and capabilities, envy and jealousy, excessive complexity, the awareness of the impossibility of overcoming difficulties which have arisen, and emotional overloads. These and a number of other causes are operative in countries with differing social systems and different living conditions.

And people drink everywhere because man is weak and imperfect everywhere. Human imperfection cannot be dismissed with a casual wave of the hand, and we cannot solve the very lofty problem of overcoming drunkenness right away. But as of now, in accordance with the slogans which have been put forth, we are obliged to agitate solely for the complete rejection of alcoholic beverages. But this dooms us to failure ahead of time. Worldwide experience has demonstrated the following: reducing the consumption of alcoholic beverages takes place only in those countries where widespread, clear, and sensible propaganda about the harmful effect of alcohol is conducted parallel with instruction on how to behave in situations where alcohol is being consumed.

"In our country's practice the latter trend is completely lacking. We do not help people to control themselves, and we lose a great deal by not doing so."

When sharp limitations on the sale of alcoholic beverages were introduced in the summer of 1985, a precipitous growth of drug addiction began immediately. If in 1985 the number of drug addicts registered in the health-care organs increased by 3,000, in 1987 they went up by 19,000. This fact convincingly attests to the following: mere threats to ban drug addiction are powerless. Anti-drug preventive work must allow for an alternative and be built upon an intelligent education and informing of the citizens. And particularly young persons.

"During the last three years some 400 young patients have been treated for alcoholism in the Youth Drug Division of the All-Union Scientific Center for Medical and Biological Drug Problems. The absolute majority of them came to the division by being sent there from the Inspectorate for Juvenile Cases. That is, only those were treated whom the police discovered. Teen-age alcoholism and drug addiction is, alas, an everyday reality. And, therefore, anti-drug education must be conducted on a larger scale in the schools. But, in the opinion, for example, of A. Igonin, the director of the above-named division, it would be desirable to conduct it under the guidance of specialists. One child may have parents who drink, while another may come from a home with a "dry law." When should we begin to talk about the harmful effects of alcohol with one or the other? One student may have already tried alcoholic beverages, while another has not. How should an anti-alcohol talk be structured with each of them? Answers to these and similar questions can be provided to the teacher only by a psychologist who possesses medical knowledge and skills regarding preventive work. A school needs psychologists in all matters, and for anti-drug education in particular. And, of course, it has an acute need for a library with special literature, some of which is directed at the children, while some is directed at teachers and parents. Paigning for psychologists, their medical training, and publishing literature on these subjects cost a significant amount of

money. But one thing was proved long ago: preventive work—no matter how expensive it may be—is always cheaper than the cost of treating and rehabilitating patients.

I was told by N. Ivanets, director of the All-Union Center for Drug Study Problems, that additional funds are planned to be allocated soon for programs on alcoholism and drug addiction. And specialists are now extremely worried about the following: Will they be permitted to spend money intelligently—based on the achievements of world science and practice, rather than on someone's arbitrary positions.

Nobody will give us ready-made prescriptions for drug addiction. But, as the symposium in Gagra has shown, the exchange of experience by drug experts from various countries has opened up new possibilities and hopes for overcoming this evil which is confronting all mankind. And it was not by chance that the foreign and Soviet participants in the symposium, when expressing their gratitude to its organizers and hosts—the staff members of the All-Union Drug Study Center and Georgia's and Abkhazia's ministries of health—also stated that there should be a continuation of this first international meeting of drug experts.

Problems Caused by Vagrants in Irkutsk Oblast
18300489 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by N. Fokina, special correspondent: "Beach Bum with a Barrel: How To Return a Lost Person to Society"]

[Text] Hard plank-beds in stuffy, smoke-filled rooms. Pieces of bread are growing stale on a decrepit windowsill.... This is the reception-and-distribution center of the Irkutsk Oblispolkom UVD [Internal Affairs Administration]. Here is where they bring vagrants—people who have fallen on hard times, people without a passport or any fixed place of residence. In other words, "bums." Behind this ordinary nickname lie endless wanderings around strange regions, a loss of the habits and customs of ordinary human life, as well as moral and even physical degradation. Among the people such persons are frequently termed "beach bums," whether jokingly or seriously decoding a pun on the first letters of the Russian words for "former member of the intelligentsia." Nowadays it has become clear that there is almost no justification for this term. According to research done by M. Ledenev and S. Chernyshev, scholars at the Economic Research Institute of the USSR DVO [Far Eastern Oblast] Academy of Sciences, 80 percent of vagrants have graduated only from an eight-year school, and less than half have obtained any sort of vocational training. To be sure, one occasionally encounters such persons with a higher education, but none of them have engaged in complex intellectual work. The term "beach bum" or "beached" in its original meaning—"a sailor assigned to shore duty"—more precisely

conveys the situation of a person who has first left his family and then left his production collective. All kinds of ties with society have been lost—at first the formal ones: the type of passport certificate and registration, and then the purely human ones as well: family ties and those with other relatives. Although the path of life began differently for all of them.

Here, for example, is Vitaliy Georgiyevich, one of the inhabitants of the Irkutsk Reception-and-Distribution Center. "Not working," states his dossier, "has no documents, lives in a store-room." Not so long ago he had "golden hands," he could have been a turner or a carpenter; he used to build stoves in dachas. But he used up his "bride money," and a husband who drinks too much is just a burden for a family. He used to be rescued by his mother while she was still alive. Then came court convictions. There was no longer any place to return to. He set up a kind of place to lie down and sleep in the courtyard of an apartment house in Irkutsk.... As stated in his dossier, the inhabitants wrote that they were afraid of this "character," and they requested the police to take measures.

What measures can the police take with regard to such persons? Collect them in the reception-and-distribution center, hold them until their identities have been ascertained, issue them passports, job assignments, and, if necessary cure them. That's about all that can be done. "What's this?" the reader will ask in amazement. "Is there really nothing that can be done to make such parasites responsible?"

In theory, something can be done. There is Article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, but court cases for vagrancy are practically never encountered. "This article does not work," explains V. Bobyrev, deputy chief of the Irkutsk Oblispolkom UVD. "It contains many stipulations and clauses which have become loopholes for avoiding responsibility. A person can go without working for 4 months and then take a job for a couple of weeks.... He can live by collecting bottles, and just try to prove that this is unearned income. There must be an expert medical opinion. It also has to be proved that the law was violated intentionally. In short, there's a whole set of obstacles which the police rarely succeed in overcoming."

And here's another person at the center—a 34-year-old woman who, it must be said, does not look at all like a vagrant. She has beautiful eyes, filled with sadness. She worked for 9 years as a milkmaid on a sovkhos. She left home because she did not get along with her parents. Without a registration card she has not been hired anywhere, and this is already the second time that she has turned up at the distribution center. Policemen are too busy to delve into mental or emotional fine points. Furthermore, they do not have much sympathy for persons such as her; they are more concerned with giving actual aid and support. During a 9-month period the Irkutsk Oblast Reception-and-Distribution Center

issued 257 passports. Almost 1500 vagrants were found to be able-bodied and fit for work. That is, they were given job assignments, and many of them even went to take these jobs. But have they succeeded in holding onto them?

"We are not too confident of this," says N. Pushkar, chief of the Irkutsk Oblispolkom UVD Administration for Safeguarding Public Order. "Without work habits, without ties to relatives, and without social ties, they can soon return to their favorite basements. And it's not just a matter of their having a weakened willpower or a lack of desire to begin a new life. Because, you know, a job assignment really has no juridical force. A plant can accept the applicant or turn him down. A few years ago the Irkutsk Oblispolkom approved a list of enterprises which were obligated to accept such persons for work. But, in the first place, this list was very short, and, in the second place, such an arrangement is meaningless if the plant has no dormitory: because, after all, a 'bum' is a person without any registration documents...."

Some 70 cities and settlements in this country have established limitations on registering persons who have been freed from prison. What does this mean for a person who has fallen on hard times? He is virtually sure to fall again, inasmuch as, deprived of the right to return home, he will hide himself and wander about. This is not conjecture or fantasy: there are serious scientific studies which attest to the fact that repeat crimes are committed by one out of every four persons who have fallen into such a situation, while, in contrast, the figure is only 8 percent for those who have been registered.

"Job placement and arranging the everyday life of former convicts should be handled by the local soviet organs," explains V. Balandin, chief of the Irkutsk Oblast Administration of Corrective-Labor Institutions. "But I cannot recall a single case where this was done in fact. More often than not, everything is different: they say, we are not going to register those whom you send to us. They resist, as if people with mutilated fates do not exist for them."

Moreover, staff members at the specialized reception center told me how economic managers are fond of utilizing cheap manpower on the production line, but only temporarily. "Send us your vagrants; we have a crash-work period," one manager will request, while another one will state: "We don't need any at all." By the way, this tacitly legitimized practice of sending "beach bums" to the most unattractive and heaviest jobs is becoming a factor in increasing the number of such persons. Temporary, seasonal jobs, as scholarly studies have shown, comprise that environment which predisposes a person to become an idler and a bad workman.

"I was employed at the Gorkiy Motor-Vehicle Plant as an installer," we heard as another confession at the Irkutsk Reception-and-Distribution Center. "I worked in a so-so manner. I became bored. I left for Siberia with

a 'wild' brigade in order to earn some more money. The money came easy—and I would blow it. I could earn more again.... That's the way it went. I could no longer return home."

Most of the vagrants are men who are subject to paying alimony. Here too temporary jobs do not come easily to hand. It's like looking for a leaf in a windy field. And, as we already know, Article 209 is no cure for parasitism.

For a long time the idea seemed indisputable that if we were to put this motley army to work at machine tools and rafters, we could make up the shortage of labor resources. But such an army flows right through plants and construction and benefits nobody. Cost accounting has erected a barrier to it at the factory gates, and this is reinforced by the Law on State Enterprises. Everything would seem to be legal and correct. But where are we to put them, these rejected persons?

The question seems rhetorical: no universal pancea has been found up to now. Although even now the following is understood: we cannot get by with police measures alone. The reception-and-distribution center is merely a unique kind of transitional base for persons with weakened social ties, but it is not a crucial point in their destinies. And, therefore, we need a new service of social adaptation, established on public principles, for the purpose of aiding such persons with the participation of psychologists, sociologists, jurists, and economists. What about involving in this matter the energies of "unofficial" persons, among whom there are quite a few specialists in the needed fields of knowledge and skills? The initiators here could be the local ispolkoms on whose territory the vagrants are living.

Whatever the case may be, it is high time that we stopped pretending that the "beach bums" do not exist among us. As long as the law is ineffective and public opinion remains silent, they will continue to wander about the Baykal region in search of a "barrel" in which to float to a never-never land, most often—to crime.

Care Provided Aged, Invalids Inadequate

Special Homes, Care Needed

18300461 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[KazTAG report: "When Concern is Lacking"]

[Text] Only after 23 years of use, the first major repairs on the rest home for the aged and invalids in Alma-Ata began in 1987. Even now not a lot has been done. However, the gorispolkom has not monitored the situation and has clearly not thought about how inconvenient it is for the residents. In two years less than half of the resources allocated have been used

Even without this, the situation of those living there is not good. Back in 1967 the gorispolkom made a decision that was by no means the best—to open, based at the rest home, a department for 80 people with psychoneurological disorders. Time has passed and the problem of taking care of such people has become more acute. However, instead of a fundamental solution, attempts have been made to do this by other, clearly doubtful methods. In 1971 and 1987 the department for invalids was expanded by reducing the capacity of the main contingent. Now a very strange situation has been created almost half of the places here are occupied by people with chronic psychiatric disorders.

In spite of its specialization, the institution for the aged and invalids has a lot of seriously ill people who are permanently bedridden. Thus, the rest home is now overcrowded. While norms call for 9 square meters per person, the department averages 7, and those with psychoneurological disorders only 5. There are only 14 showers for the several hundred residents. Medical services also leave something to be desired: There are no regular preventive examinations, nor is there any specific and sometimes no rehabilitation treatment.

Neglect of the needs of the aged, invalids and sick and their occasional lack of elementary attention were revealed during an inspection of the rest home conducted by the Kazakh CP Central Committee. All party committees in the republic were entrusted with regular monitoring to see that supplies and facilities are provided, as called for by the regional program "Zabota" [Concern] and that veterans of war and labor receive care.

The inspection showed that the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom and its departments and administrations are not doing enough to implement party and government decisions to improve services to the aged and invalids nor are they supporting the construction of a 310 place rest home planned for introduction in 1990. In the city today there are now about 800 people waiting for placement in such an institution, and more than 300 are waiting for psychoneurological care.

Ye. D. Duysekov, deputy chairman of gorplan, assured that these questions would be resolved by 1 July 1988 and that the construction of the first stage of the rest home would start at the beginning of this year. This has not been done. Because it lacks the needed documentation, the Almaatastroy [Alma-Ata Construction] Association has not started work on the project. The rest home's planned introduction is thus threatened with disruption.

The gorispolkom leadership has also stretched out over 1989-1990 the construction of two residential homes for single and aged citizens. These homes will have social and personal services and facilities where pensioners can work. The orders for their design were completed only

this January. The Almaatagiprogor [Alma-Ata City Planning and Design Institute] plans to publish design and estimation documentation only in 1990. Again, the question arises: Will this be soon enough to meet the planned deadlines for the introduction of such important projects?

The party control committee at the Central Committee seriously reprimanded A. D. Yermegiyayev, deputy chairman of the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom. Consideration was given to assurances by him and by V. R. Krasnyanskiy, chief of the Almaatstroy Territorial-Construction Association that the construction of the rest home for the aged would begin on time and that major repairs on the existing home would begin in June.

The commission demanded that the republic ministers of health and social security take urgent measures to improve medical and social services to those in rest homes, to improve supplies, sanitation and hygiene conditions and to rigorously inquire about the satisfaction of veterans' and invalids' needs.

Consideration was given to the statement by G. T. Chubov, secretary of the Kazakh Trade Union Council that trade union organs will pay more attention to the needs of war and labor veterans, to their treatment at sanatoria and spas, provide more assistance to rest homes, and give all forms of assistance to see that there is a sensitive and concerned attitude towards them.

The attention of A. F. Povedenok, director of the Alma-Ata City Rest Home for the Aged and Invalids and of V. F. Chernousov, secretary of the home's party organization, was directed to shortcomings in their work. They were shown the need to display more initiative and persistence improving medical, social, and cultural services to their charges.

Home for Aged Overcrowded

18300461 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian, 28 Feb 89 p 2

[KazTAG report: "Concerns about Humane Services"]

[Text] In everyday life one is confident about the Soviet people's social protection and rarely thinks if there is complete concern about those who gave long years, work and their health to our society.

However, one has no right to forget, even for a single day, about those to whom the state has entrusted the difficult and responsible job of providing citizens' constitutional rights to support in their old age or if they become disabled or lose the family provider.

Many new party and government documents and the activities by public organizations such as the Council for War and Labor Veterans, the Fund for Charity and Health, the Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin and the

Society of Invalids, the Blind and the Deaf show great concern about improving the lives of disabled citizens. Special attention is given to disabled veterans of foreign wars and their families.

Last year more than 300,000 pensioners in our republic received raises and bonuses for long term service. There have been positive advances in organizational work on pensions. This is affirmed by old people themselves. They less frequently encounter red tape and indifference when filling out requests for assistance. Unfortunately, however, there are justified complaints and comments. Social security organs often make errors causing underpayment and repayment of pensions. Deadlines for reviews of pension matters are not met. Keep in mind that behind each of these cases is a person, at times powerless, weak, concerned and sick. For example, in Uygurskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast 17 kolkhoz farmers were shorted 10 rubles each for almost a year, while in Kokchetav Oblast 15 people failed to receive over 2,000 rubles in a year.

Can one really ignore the many hours of "guard duty" pensioners spend at the mail box, waiting for money? After vainly waiting for their money, thousands of pensioners go to the communications department. There are extremely low levels of service to pensioners at such

departments in Dzhezkazgan, Karaganda, Pavlodar and other oblasts. Why does the Ministry of Social Security pay the Ministry of Communications?

Social assistance at home is a promising way of servicing pensioners. In the republic in the past 2 years 205 departments for new services have appeared. They take care of more than 16,000 old and invalid people living alone and receiving only small pensions. Wouldn't it be good if such people lived in special homes such as those built recently in Karaganda and Pavlodar. In such places their daily concerns are less burdensome. However, they are being built too slowly. Local soviet organs and veterans organs are poorly monitoring construction.

There must be substantial improvements in the supply of lighter and more convenient prostheses to invalids. It has taken too long to solve this problem, just like it has for many others, including supplies, electronic and computer equipment for social security.

An expanded meeting of the board of the Ministry of Social Security noted all this and suggested specific measures to eliminate shortcomings. There was a discussion of last year's results and tasks to further deepen perestroika in the system's activity.

L. Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

USSR Official on Progress in Liquidating Chernobyl Aftermath

18000630a Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK
in Russian No 3, Feb 89 p 6

[Interview with B.Ye. Shcherbina: "A Zone of Special Attention"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 24 January examined, along with other questions, the state of affairs in the regions subjected to radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station, and above all in the Belorussian SSR. Describing the work on establishing safe living and working conditions for the populace in these regions is USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman B.Ye. Shcherbina, who is chairman of the governmental commission.

[Shcherbina] The CPSU Central Committee and the government are devoting continual and unremitting attention to the pace of work on liquidating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. More than 23,000 suburban-type houses have been built for the populace in the regions which suffered; thousands of kilometers of public utilities have been laid, power lines strung and roads built. The citizens evacuated from the danger zones have been paid appropriate compensation, amounting to more than 900 million rubles. Major agro-technical measures have been implemented, and in areas with elevated levels of radioactive contamination the entire population is being supplied with pure food products, and is being compensated by the state with additional expenditures. In all, 4.4 billion rubles have been spent to liquidate the consequences of the disaster.

The basic result of the work that has been accomplished is, that owing to the measures adopted, it has been possible to significantly lower the level of radiation effects on the populace of the regions which suffered. According to data from the USSR Health Ministry, it has been found to be below the safety limits established by medical authorities by more than a factor of two.

As is well known, a diagnosis of severe radiation illness was established for 237 people. Of these, it was not possible to save 28. One hundred ninety three persons have practically recovered and have returned to work, while only 16 people are still unable to return to work full-time. To the present time the medical services have not registered a single new case of illness connected with the radiation factor. More than 600,000 people are under continuous observation. All of them have been entered on All-union and republic assessment registers.

During the ensuing period a large amount of decontamination work has been accomplished. Over 600 populated places have been processed. In the overwhelming majority, the levels of radioactivity are insignificant.

At the same time it must be said that in a number of places the measures undertaken did not achieve the necessary results. The radiation situation in the areas which have suffered are characterized at the present time by long-lasting radioactive nuclides. In this connection, a concept has been worked out for people to dwell safely in the regions with higher levels of radioactive contamination. The concept is based on analysis of numerous medical observations, a large volume of scientific research by the National Commission on Protection Against Radiation, the scientific organizations of the USSR Health Ministry, and other ministries and departments. It establishes the limit of their irradiation for 70 years of life of not more than 35 BER [Biological Equivalent Roentgen]—that is, the amount of the maximum norm for the populace living in the areas where atomic power stations are situated. This level of irradiation, as many years of domestic and foreign practical experience has shown, poses no danger for people whatsoever.

The "covering" of the fourth power unit at the Chernobyl AES is in safe condition. Scientists and specialists are maintaining constant observation over it. Since October of last year the remaining power units at the station have been operating in the normal mode. Safe working conditions have been ensured for the service personnel. In less than two years a new town, Slavutich, has been built for the power workers, where nearly 300,000 square meters of housing area has been turned over to occupants, along with the necessary socio-domestic facilities.

[Correspondent] What are the plans for further work in the areas with higher levels of radioactive contamination?

[Shcherbina] Throughout 1989 decontamination work will continue, and the populated places will be supplied with the necessary utility services and gas, and housing will be built along with additional municipal and other socio-domestic services. About 420 million rubles in capital investments are to be released this year for these projects.

[Correspondent] The mass information media are devoting a great deal of attention to liquidating the consequences of the disaster. How do you rate these articles, and how accurate is the scene they depict?

[Shcherbina] The public's anxiety about the Chernobyl disaster and the effects of its consequences on the people's health are altogether well-founded and understandable. But the excessive emotion and citing all kinds of conjecture and rumors which one sometimes encounters in published materials do no good to anyone. These questions require special responsibility, scrupulous accuracy, and well-reasoned analyses of the actual state of affairs.

Chernobyl Accident's Effect on Bryansk Oblast Examined

18000883 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by TASS Correspondent Yu. Lodkin, Bryansk Oblast: "After the Storm"]

[Text] The edge of the Chernobyl storm cloud also affected Bryansk Oblast. The zone of radioactive contamination covered 5.5 thousand square kilometers, a territory on which almost 280,000 people live. Of the five rayons that were hit by the disaster, Krasnogorskiy suffered more than the others.

V. Kurashin, first secretary of the Krasnogorskiy raykom [rayon party committee] of the party, and I approached the spot where a village gathering was being held in August 1986 in the village of Barsuki. No one stayed in the cottages. Everyone went out onto the street, standing quietly, as if at a burial. Indeed it was a burial, the burial of the village itself, and it was Kurashin's lot to inform the villagers that because of extremely high radioactive contamination of the locality, caused by the "Chernobyl rains," they would have to leave their native homes tomorrow morning forever...

This kind of a sentence was also handed down in the Krasnogorskiy villages of Progress, Nizhnyaya Melnitsa, and Knyazevshchina. And not one of the inhabitants could even surmise what a personal misfortune the Chernobyl accident would turn out to be.

"It is now known that a complete map of the 'radioactive patches' that showed up at distances of a hundred kilometers from the scene of the accident was submitted to the government by the USSR Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology] on 2 May," V. Kurashin explains. "But we had data on increased radioactivity over the territory of the rayon as early as 29 April. It was pinpointed in a number of spots by dosimeter operators who were getting ready for a civil defense exercise. A significant increase in the gamma background was recorded in the city of Novozybkov.

Misfortune came to the Bryansk area. The journal of the chief sanitary doctor of the oblast, V. Samoylenko, makes it possible to trace step by step how events unfolded after receiving the first danger signals. On the following day, a 24-hour watch was instituted at all SES's [sanitary epidemiological station] in the oblast, and 14 radiology laboratories and 19 stations for transport decontamination were deployed. On 1 May, radioactive contamination was discovered in tests of milk that was supplied by the western rayons of Bryansk territory. Strict control was established immediately over the quality of all milk that was brought in for industrial processing.

On 3 May, the population received recommendations on the rules of conduct under conditions of an increased gamma background. In literally a very few days the dosimetric system that was set up in the oblast to monitor food products and objects in the surrounding area made it possible to obtain an overall picture of the radioactive contamination and to work up a system of measures to ensure the safety of the population in the "contaminated" rayons.

There were 206 populated areas in a zone with a soil contamination level of from 15 to 40 Curie units per square kilometer, and 15, in a zone where this level was surpassed. In the first period after the precipitation of radioactive fallout, Iodine-131 constitutes the greatest health hazard. Therefore, massive preventive treatment was carried out in the most contaminated rayons, which involved more than 70,000 persons. The subsequent dispensary system confirmed the correctness and timeliness of measures that were undertaken; not one case of illness was found that resulted from the effect of this isotope.

The Bryansk area was not left to fend for itself after the misfortune came. Builders arrived here from many oblasts of Russia. They participated in erecting homes for migrants from villages that were torn down. Civil defense formations carried out important work in the decontamination of populated areas. The USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] in the first days after the accident assigned specialists to the oblast from the Leningrad NII for Radiation Hygiene and the Moscow NII for Radiology and Roentgenology, and more than 400 highly qualified doctors from other oblasts of the country. Approximately an additional 2 million rubles were allocated for the acquisition of modern diagnostic equipment. The decision of the state to supply uncontaminated food products to the population through state trade and consumer cooperatives, with a simultaneous introduction of monetary aid for the purchase of food, was an effective measure which anticipated the internal exposure to radiation of people living in permanent and strict control zones.

In accordance with a decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers of 1 August 1986, 180,000 square meters of housing were built in radioactively contaminated rayons of the oblast, and also schools for 1,400 pupils, kindergartens and day nurseries for 830 children, 550 kilometers of hard surface roads, 190 kilometers of water lines, and 37 kilometers of gas lines. A system of measures for the decontamination of farmland was introduced. And more than 450 million rubles all told was expended on eliminating the aftereffects of radioactive contamination.

It is apparent that detailed and complete notification of people about the radiological situation and about measures for eliminating the consequences of Chernobyl would be a reliable screen for various kinds of rumors and conjectures which roll in waves from one rayon of

the Bryansk territory to another. A typewritten leaflet is being passed from hand to hand in Novozybkov proclaiming that the real level of contamination of the territory, which is dangerous to the health of the people, is being concealed from the population by party and soviet organs. But specialists calculate that in 1986 Novozybkov residents received radiation doses of 0.9 rem [roentgen equivalents] and the same amount for the years 1987 and 1988 taken together. According to the prognosis, irradiation will not even exceed one-third of the permissible norm in 70 years.

The task of producing uncontaminated products on contaminated land is not settled by a resolution of the "milk problem" only. To obtain uncontaminated meat in areas affected by contamination, farms have been created that fatten cattle with uncontaminated fodder. In 2-3 months of such fattening, radioactive cesium is removed from animal organs. The kolkhoz's [collective farm] and sovkhoz's [state farm] have already accumulated some experience in obtaining uncontaminated feed, and they are aggressively introducing crops into crop rotation that, with certain agricultural techniques, are not receptive to cesium radionuclides.

This must be talked about openly and loudly. But not all radiophobic judgments can be explained by lack of information or the illiteracy of people. A USSR Minzdrav commission visited here because of a complaint of the residents of the village of Bukovets which was addressed to M. S. Gorbachev. The commission was greeted in the village club with a poster with the slogan "Tell the truth."

Ye. Ivanov, deputy director of the Leningrad Institute of Radiation Hygiene, tried to convince the villagers that their health was not being threatened by the existing level of contamination, but without success. It is really difficult to convince the people of this, when hundreds of hectares of land around the village have been confiscated and the density of contamination of the territory exceeds 75 Curie units in a square kilometer.

"After the publication in PRAVDA of the article 'Chernobyl: The Past and Prognosis for the Future' by Yu. Israel, chairman of the USSR Goskomgidromet, a new wave of questions, letters, and complaints was raised," says Ye. Kotlyarov, first deputy chairman of the Krasnogorskiy rayispolkom. "Judge for yourselves whether the residents of a number of settlements have reason to be alarmed. The aforementioned article explains that the USSR Minzdrav has set a limit of 85 rem as a vital radiation dosage for the population of the areas of the accident. Subject to the condition that uncontaminated products are provided and that decontamination and intensive land reclamation is carried out, the people who live on territory that has a contamination density of up to 40 Curie units per square kilometer (strict monitoring zone) will not accumulate this dosage even in 70 years. But what happens to those who live on territory with a higher degree of contamination? The article says in this

regard: "... the possibility is not excluded that people will be resettled from those individual areas where the level of radiation is especially high."

Kotlyarov lays out a schematic map of the rayon on the table.

"Territories that we are forced to remove from agricultural usage because of extreme contamination and plant over with forests are marked with a black color. Krasnogorskiy arable land is being reduced by 1,300 hectares—a considerable loss. But the threat to the health of the people is even more disconcerting. Take the village of Borki. It is surrounded by confiscated land. Can people live here? (It was later determined that without the execution of comprehensive engineering decontamination operations and land improvement measures, the residents of Borki would accumulate 88 rem in 70 years instead of the 35 rem norm.)"

An even greater threat hung over the peasants of Bukovets and Koval who would require only a little more than a quarter of a century to accumulate the maximum allowable dosage, given the present territorial contamination. And all-told, 10 villages in the Krasnogorskiy Rayon have been placed in the especially radioactive danger category.

"And according to recent data, the list should be expanded," Ye. Kotlyarov stated, and he recommended visiting the village of Yalovka, which was not on the "black list." "Only do not be surprised. Meetings always pop up when visitors come to Yalovka. And it is a certainty that correspondents of the central press will not escape attention."

And that is what happened. A. Kaposhko, manager of the Krasnogorskiy Radiological Laboratory, and some two dozen persons accompanied us. They carefully checked on the dosimeter readings indicated by the arrow when gamma background measurements were being made and, showing knowledge of the matter, they said out loud: "Above the norm, above the norm." And afterwards they asked us to inform the government organs about the necessity to resettle the village on uncontaminated territory.

In their appeals, we heard more than once the name of the village Zaborye, "which they plan to resettle, although its radioactivity is just a little higher and its personal plots of land are even less contaminated." But according to the results of dosimetry readings of the soil taken in that village, in a majority of the sectors the density of contamination exceeds 150 Curie units per square kilometer, and in some, even 200! (According to data of the USSR Goskomgidromet, these figures lie within the bounds of from 24 to 134.)

Now there are intense debates about how to lower the effect of radioactivity on the residents of the village who are in this zone. It is being proposed that kitchen-gardens

be allocated to villagers in the less contaminated kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields. This can be done but the peasants think that they will not be able to cultivate gardens that are located several kilometers from their homes. But even so in this case they will still have to live in "contaminated streets." Consideration is also being given to the possibility of replacing contaminated soil with uncontaminated soil in yards and personal plots. But what will this take? Millions of cubic feet of earth would have to be moved over considerable distances. And where do you get the uncontaminated soil and where do you store the contaminated soil?

And what is the opinion of the residents themselves?

"We like our own village, but we believe that the only solution is resettlement in an uncontaminated zone," the residents of Bukovets told the USSR Minzdrav.

There is dissatisfaction with the principle of division of the contaminated rayons into zones and the associated imperfect system of payments for the purchase of uncontaminated products. In Krasnaya Gora, for example, which has been assigned to the second contamination zone, the population turned over all cattle used in personal farming, and each resident receives 30 rubles per month from the state for the purchase of meat and milk products. And many residents who are located only 4 kilometers from the rayon center of the village of Lyubovsho (first zone) keep cattle and use contaminated products which they themselves produce as food.

Things are like this not only in this village. The management of the association "Krasnogorskoye" has evidence that about half of the milk in the first zone that is obtained from personal farming does not meet the established norms for radioactive nuclides. The USSR Minzdrav should take this situation into account and extend the system of grants to all zones.

"A clear drop in the attention the republic gives to our difficulties and problems has been noted," says V. Kurashin. "We are forced to turn repeatedly to various departments with an outstretched hand. Despite the reduction in arable land caused by heavy contamination, plans have not been adjusted for the sale of agricultural products for the rayon. We are experiencing great difficulty in marketing them. Not very long ago, the primary consumers of potatoes—Moscow and Leningrad—refused our deliveries, although they cannot make any claims about its contamination. Because of channeling of food products to other purposes, farms lost more than 10 million rubles of income in the last 3 years.

All of the problems mentioned above have been raised more than once in numerous letters addressed to leaders of the country and the republic. An analysis by a special commission of letters sent to Moscow from Zaborye, Yalovka, and Lyubovsho is expected soon. Taking past

experience into account, it can be predicted that many specific claims will be resolved. But the method of local injections does not justify itself.

The expression "comprehensive program of special socio-economic development" was heard more than once in numerous meetings with residents of the Russian zone of Chernobyl. It is to the development and implementation of this kind of republic-wide program that the people tie their hope for the creation of healthy living conditions and the complete elimination of the aftereffects of the Chernobyl accident.

USSR MVD Official on Militia Actions During 30 Oct Minsk Demonstration
18000630b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA,
in Russian No 10, 8 Mar 89 p 11

[Interview with USSR Deputy Internal Affairs Minister I.F. Shilov: "On Minsk After 30 October—The Point of View of the USSR MVD"; date and place not given]

[Text] "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" has already written about the events of 30 October 1988 in the city of Minsk (No 52, 1988). Specifically, the topic dealt with the actions of the militia which dispersed the people who had gathered near Moscow Cemetery for a meeting forbidden by the gorispolkom, to honor the memory of the ancestors of "Dzyada." An "LG" correspondent met with USSR Deputy Internal Affairs Minister I.F. Shilov, and asked him to describe what measures were taken in connection with the newspaper article.

[Shilov] The USSR MVD leadership created a special commission and sent it to Minsk to conduct a careful official investigation. The members of the commission met with officials of party and Soviet organs, and spoke with numerous participants in the unsanctioned meeting. What can I say? The question of whether the meeting was rightfully banned does not fall under our jurisdiction. But once the city authorities had taken such a decision, the internal affairs organs were obliged to ensure it was carried out. This, incidentally, is also stressed in the decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 14 November 1988, which acknowledged that the actions of the internal affairs organs were justified and proper. The manner in which the police acted during this and what sort of violations were committed, is another matter.

[Correspondent] Does that mean that violations were in fact committed?

[Shilov] Yes, and I must be frank about that. Well, in the first place, analysis of this concrete situation has shown that it would have been possible to use less force to ensure order; although for the sake of objectivity I will say that at that time it was very hard for the city UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] leaders to predict how the events would develop. After all we too are learning to work in the new conditions. Secondly, in carrying out the

obligations placed upon them, certain militia officials went beyond the bounds of their authority, and acted contrary to existing instructions. I have in mind the incident when they took away movie and still cameras from people and exposed the film. That should never have happened.

[Correspondent] Here it was not just the instructions that were violated, but the law itself.

[Shilov] Absolutely. It also became clear that certain people were unjustly arrested and taken to the police station. That was unacceptable. They should have distinguished between those who were a violators and those showed resistance to the authorities, and those who had not committed any illegal acts.

[Correspondent] How could they know what was what, when there was such a hullabaloo in the city?

[Shilov] Let us be fair. The tension was caused not only by the actions of the law enforcement organs, but also by all those who took part in the events. As far as the militia officials are concerned, they have to be able to cope with any and all of the most complex situations. And now, about the use of the so-called special means.

[Correspondent] Water cannon, billy clubs, and tear gas?

[Shilov] That's right. This question was examined with special care. And I must very categorically state that no command to employ the special means was ever given. There are special, precisely formulated rules, which stipulate under just what circumstances such a command may be given. In Minsk on 30 October there was no need for that at all.

[Correspondent] And without the command?

[Shilov] Water cannon and billy clubs were not used. But as far as the gas is concerned, here the situation is more complex. It was studied by the republic procuracy, which passed a resolution declining to institute a criminal case, because the actions of the militia officials did not constitute a crime. On the whole more than 150 eye-witnesses were questioned (not counting militia officials), including the 16 people who stated that aerosol bombs in the form of tear gas were used on them. Of course it is obviously impossible to reject this testimony. And we do not exclude the possibility that certain irresponsible militia officials, or even other participants in the meeting might have used some kind of aerosol bombs.

[Correspondent] But you see, the MVD leadership in Belorussia and Minister V.A. Piskarev himself did not once categorically deny this, neither orally nor in writing.

[Shilov] The comrades were proceeding from the fact that, first of all, no command to use gas was given; and secondly, the entire supply of gas on hand is in place, and

no expenditure of gas was recorded. We invited the public and deputies to inspect it. But of course, in making an analysis of the events, the republic MVD leaders should have taken all the circumstances into consideration, and in any case, they should not have ignored the testimony of those who spoke about the gas.

[Correspondent] Where could the militia officials have gotten gas canisters, if the entire official stock in storage was not touched?

[Shilov] It is very hard to determine just what kind of gas they are talking about from the stories of the eye-witnesses, and just as hard to tell just who employed it. I repeat: We do not exclude the possibility that someone among the militia officials could have had aerosol canisters. Which also, it goes without saying, is a gross violation.

[Correspondent] And you do not think it is possible that, in spite of the fact that all the documents are outwardly in fine shape, a certain number of canisters might nevertheless have made their way out of storage in the pockets of militia greatcoats?

[Shilov] In order to make such an assertion, it is necessary to establish the concrete facts. And that is what we do not have. But you are right, we shall have to draw conclusions. The USSR MVD has already issued a command to all republic internal affairs ministries and to all kray, oblast and city internal affairs departments, to make another strict inspection of how the special means in question are stored, to step up control over their security, and to preclude all possible access to them without proper orders from the chief.

[Correspondent] That's all very well, but what about those people who suffered in one way or another from the illegal actions of the MVD organs? Those from whom cameras were seized, whose film was exposed; and those who received a dose of unsanctioned gas?

[Shilov] They were invited to the city internal affairs department, and they received an official apology in the name of the ministry leaders: first of all, for the use of illegal actions with respect to them; and secondly, for the fact that during the events of 30 October the militia organs were unable to ensure their complete personal safety.

[Correspondent] But does the public know about the official apologies? When I was in Minsk, I received the impression that both the minister himself, Comrade V.A. Piskarev, and the newspaper of the republic Internal Affairs Ministry, NA STRAZHE OKTYABRYA, were, on the contrary, employing all their energies to whitewash the actions of the militia—and in no way did they admit they had made mistakes, nor that they apologized to the people.

[Shilov] I do think that in analyzing this event the Belorussian MVD and its minister, Comrade V.A. Piskarev, should have been more open. Glasnost is glasnost; the more so, since this question was examined at the collegium of the ministry and in its party committee. Quite a number of officials were punished. Apparently the departmental newspaper NA STRAZHE OKTYABRYA should also describe what took place in an objective manner, and report on the official apologies which had to be made to the people. Our officials must understand, that if someone has made a mistake, committed a violation, or has exceeded his authority—no one can shield him. And no one will protect him from public criticism in the press, if it is justified. This is something we must get used to. Each of us must learn to think, not in narrowly departmental categories, but in broad, political terms. Such is the time in which we live. In conclusion, I would like to appeal to the citizens and the employees of the internal affairs organs, and speak to the necessity for strictly carrying out the legislative acts which regulate the procedure for holding gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

Citizens Comment on Participation in 19 Feb Minsk Rally

18000751 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 3

[BELTA report: "Much Ado About Nothing..."]

[Text] The meeting which took place last Sunday in Minsk's Dinamo Stadium gave rise to quite a few puzzling questions. And this is quite understandable. No one can now still be surprised by the very fact of such a massive measure. Moreover, these tumultuous meetings and manifestations unfortunately do not add either products on our tables, consumer goods on the shelves, or to the number of apartments occupied by new tenants.

Of course, one should and must debate and discuss the most varied problems of which there are quite a few in our lives. However, the main thing behind these debates is a search for ways of solving existing problems and an attempt to find optimal variants of perestroika in some area. Otherwise, we get noise for the sake of noise and the same demagoguery which we all so rapidly condemn through both the oral and printed word.

Well, just how did it turn out on 19 February in Minsk? BELTA correspondents asked several of its participants, representatives of various age and social groups, to share their views in this regard, and proposed that they answer the following three questions:

1. You spent several hours at the meeting, having sacrificed practically your whole day off. What prompted you to come to the stadium and did the meeting meet your expectations? Did it enrich you personally in any way and did it direct you toward reflection?

2. Numerous opinions have been expressed recently that many people have an insufficiently high standard for conducting discussions, and are neither tolerant nor respectful of their opponent's opinion. Did a dialogue come about at this meeting?

3. Were any sort of constructive proposals heard at the meeting, not in words but in deeds, which correspond to the spirit and aims of perestroika?

Aleksandr Konyukh, chief of the SKB [Machine Tool Design Department] department for output of automated lines of the MPO [Minsk Production Association] imeni the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution:

1. I heard about the meeting through a samizdat [published through unofficial sources] advertisement which hung on the doorway for several days. I went to Dinamo [Stadium] with some neighbors. I cannot say that we used our time well since the expectation of a concrete, business-like discussion was not met. The bowl of the stadium seethed, the crowd smoked, they threw out rejoinders, and, at times, did not pay any attention at all to whoever was speaking at the microphone. The impression was created that thousands of people spent their day off participating in some kind of mindless show whistling at some master of ceremonies. As a result of my four-hour "expectation," I caught a cold for my trouble and left with a completely empty head.

2. There was no dialogue at the meeting. Speaking in Lenin's words, a political twaddle took place. And not only because many of us have an insufficiently high standard for conducting discussions. The trouble is a lack of a common internal culture. And it pained was opened in an overcrowded tram car: Right here they will find that they have caught cold and are capricious. Such serious issues as the fate of perestroika are being decided not by shouts and whistles, but with a calm, calculating mind from sober Leninist positions. Mikhail Gorbachev popularly stated this in a recent CPSU Central Committee meeting with workers. The organizers of this meeting openly played on the public's emotions, not considering any remedies at the time. Even a four-year-old child came up to the microphone so that he could say a few words about perestroika. It was absurd and sad. That is how they can whistle about perestroika...

3. There was much criticism of general shortcomings and few constructive common-sense proposals taking into account the possibility and feasibility of their realization. Yelling "Down with AES [nuclear power plants]!", for example, is easy. It is more complicated to satisfy the needs of the country and the republic for electricity... In my opinion, the so-called Belorussian Popular Front is following the path of destruction and not creation. Concerning perestroika, the party has already stated that it is setting the tone of the struggle for renewal. And to not believe the party is the same thing as sawing off the

bought that we are sitting on. They say that the "Front" is playing havoc with the bureaucracy. Well then, against whom is the 19th Party Conference resolution directed?

Mariya Kachan, Minsk State Bearing Plant 13 personnel department engineer:

1. The problems of social life in the republic trouble me very much and, therefore, I try not to miss even one interesting event. I regularly attended Sovremennik political club meetings at the Political Education House. I once again heard familiar speakers at the stadium: Zhuravlev, Khodyko, Poznyak and others, whom I already long ago christened "phrase-mongers."

They know how to speak. But where are their practical deeds? And really one would like it if such a clever verbal stream would be supplemented by specific, constructive deeds in favor of perestroika.

2. In my view, there was no dialogue at the meeting. Firstly, there was a lack of even the slightest experience of talking in such an enormous auditorium. Secondly, a brutal intolerance toward someone else's opinion and an unwillingness to listen to another person impeded a constructive dialogue. I will give you a vivid example: Three men were standing next to me at the stadium's platform. It turned out that they had one point of view on events and I had another. And what happened? I will tell you frankly: To my and their shame, speaking in plain language, we almost got into a fight. Finally, it was unpleasant to see how the meeting's organizers, people called upon to conduct it precisely and confidently, pushed each other from the microphone. Thus, the general impression was negative. The leaders of the informal associations were conspicuous by their idle talk, and in my opinion their opponents, with the exception of Mikhail Podgaynyy, Central Committee secretary of the Belorussian Komsomol, could not rebuff them. Yes and in general, serious and weighted opinions did not dominate at the four-hour discussion, but emotions and often polemics were reduced to narrow, secondary issues. People felt this. And it was not by chance that one and a half to two hours after the start of the meeting many began to leave.

3. I suppose that even those who were at a meeting with the informalists for the first time did not hear anything fundamentally new. So it was too bad that time was wasted. Where better to spend time than on specific causes.

Andrey Andreyev, deputy secretary of the MPO [Minsk Production Association] Komsomol Committee imeni S.M. Kirov:

1. I felt the greatest empathy for the speech of Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Podgaynyy, who sincerely spoke about the Komsomol's

readiness to cooperate with the independent youth associations on the issues of defense of the ecology, development of Belorussian culture, and preservation of historical monuments and architecture. This certainly was the only speech in which sensible proposals were made.

The republic Komsomol Central Committee has repeatedly held meetings with informalist leaders. Various forms of cooperation have been proposed to them. But obviously, words and not deeds remain the main thing for them. In my opinion, it is time for the informalists to transition from meetings and bombastic proclamations and simply get to work.

2. I went to the meeting with great interest. I was a guest of the "drugoga valnaga soymu belaruskikh supolak" and now wanted to see what had changed for the better in the activities of the informal associations in recent times. But everything was as before, only words and not deeds. As before, naked emotions set a high-strung tone to gatherings, meetings, and get-togethers. The meeting at Dinamo Stadium once again demonstrated the lack of a standard of discussion. As soon as someone came to the microphone who was unacceptable to the informalists, they did not even allow him to open his mouth. This is the kind of "democracy" they have.

3. The main thing that disappointed me about the meeting was the absence of any sort of specific proposals. Personal ambitions and grudges are not the cause's helpers.

Creative Unions Criticize Yedinstvo Demonstration

18000800 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 1

[Statement by LiSSR creative unions signed by the Architects' Union, Journalists' Union, Cinematographers' Union, Composers' Union, Writers' Union, Theatrical Union and Artists' Union, dated Vilnius, February 15, 1989]

[Text] On February 12 in Vilnius a protest rally took place against the decree of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium on the Use of the LiSSR State Language. Those who passed that decree were condemned by angry words greeted by loud applause. Calls to rescind the decree were heard. Clearly, this is the main goal of Yedinstvo, which organized the rally and which from the first day of its existence protested against the status of Lithuanian as the LiSSR state language. Much more was said at the meeting: "nationalism," "fascism" and "national discrimination" in Lithuania were mentioned, as well as the "evil intentions" of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee and the LiSSR's Supreme Soviet and their "irresponsibility" and "incompetence." Communists in the creative unions are outraged by the statements of many speakers at the rally and wish to give their decisive condemnation of the political essence of those statements.

The rally's participants and organizers did not bother to read the Decree on the Use of the LiSSR State Language (which incidentally is very short) as it should be read, i.e., diligently, paying attention to the meaning of every sentence and word and understanding its general intent. Efforts to find in it things it does not contain are surprising, as is inability to see what is stated clearly and directly. Lithuanians and members of other nationalities living in Lithuania are insulted by these demagogic attempts to defend the stalinist policy of confluence of nationalities and cultures.

Members of all nationalities living in Lithuania have been and will remain equal. We are convinced that the majority of the rally's participants were deceived or misled by rumors and unfortunately did not try to assess and understand the aim of the decree. Lithuanian writers and representatives of other creative professions in Lithuania have always been and remain convinced that the Lithuanian language should be protected and renewed. The republic's government, by issuing the above-mentioned decree, merely expressed the will of the Lithuanian people and the majority of its citizens. In a similar way, the draft of the LiSSR Constitution will reflect the interests of the majority of the republic's citizens. We support and welcome these and other decisive steps by the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee and the republic's government.

The call by the rally's participants to declare a strike is irresponsible and inimical to the policy of perestroika.

Our republic now marks the day of restoration of Lithuanian statehood. We should all greet that day joining together for new deeds that strengthen our sovereignty, we must be full of dignity and wise calm. We mark the day of February 16 as it is supposed to be marked, as a holiday. It would be unacceptable to spoil it by extreme views, mutual suspicion and strife, to say nothing of political or other kinds of strikes. All misunderstandings in life can be cleared. Let us build our future jointly, bringing together the positive forces of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the republic's government and of course all of us, Lithuania residents.

We are convinced that we will opt for this course.

Moldavia Seeks to Cut 150 Million Ruble Deficit
18000642a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Moldavian SSR Finance Minister A. Budyanu: "Living Within One's Means"]

[Text] As is well known, the session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet approved the republic's budget for the current year with a deficit of 150 million rubles. How can this heavy burden be removed? And how can the republic's financial situation be corrected, to ensure financing of all the measures in the program for its socio-economic development in 1989?

Among the problems urgently requiring solution today by the party and the government are the condition of the state's finances, and the growing budget deficit.

The deficit in the Moldavian SSR's State Budget signifies that beginning this year, we must either limit budget financing of measures planned for developing the national economy and socio-culture life by 4.5 percent, or we must take all possible measures, even exceptional measures, to eliminate the gap between expenditures and income.

Eliminating the budget deficit is a difficult process and quite often a painful one. In the name of the common cause one has to reject some things, and put off solution of a number of critical problems. But restoring the health of the financial situation requires above all that all branches of the national economy in the republic fulfill their obligations to its budget. Reserves here are far from exhausted. For example, last year enterprises situated in Moldavia and subordinate to union-level ministries underpaid their turnover taxes to the republic budget by 8 million rubles, and their payments by 1.6 million rubles.

One of the principal ways to eliminate the budget deficit is improving the financial state of the national economy. As is well known, in late 1988 the republic government approved a program for restoring the financial health of the branches of its economy for the years 1989-1990. The program envisages mobilizing reserves in the economy amounting to 148.2 million rubles—including 88.6 million rubles this year already—which will permit above-plan payments to the budget of nearly 22 million rubles.

And still that is not enough. Production operating at a loss, unproductive expenditures, and losses are dealing a significant blow to the budget. For example, during 1986 and 1987 and the first nine months of 1988, sales of unprofitable products from an enterprise, and to a certain extent the budget itself, incurred losses of 136 million rubles. Mismanagement and squandering, unproductive expenditures, and losses, still occur. The latter increased by 25 million rubles (or by 10 percent) in 1987, as compared with the previous year, and amounted to 266 million rubles; moreover, 200 million of this was accrued because of losses in production and profits of the enterprises.

Today resource conservation must become one of the basic principles of management. In spite of the outwardly generally favorable situation in the republic with respect to working capital, in 1987 unproductive stocks of valuable material goods were abnormally high and amounted to 154 million rubles.

The session approved the budget for 1989, and it has taken on the force of law. But even today, not all payments are covered by the enterprises' plans. The problem of the so-called reciprocal plans is arising. In the

system of the Ministry of Motor Transport alone, the majority of them show a gap between profits and payments to the budget of 2.8 and 1.2 million rubles, respectively.

In the situation which has come to pass it is necessary to cover all channels of possible losses from the beginning of the year. And the rights of the enterprises must coincide with their obligations to the state budget. In this regard the role of the ministries and departments is very great.

The measures undertaken for fulfilling the income portion and the program for improving the financial health of the budget permits, according to preliminary estimates, reducing its deficit to 70-90 million rubles; however, this is not enough. Obviously, a decision must be taken on reducing lower-priority expenses in the financial plans of the ministries and departments for the 1989 budget by 1-2 percent. All of them must define specific measures for additional increases of payments to the budget on the basis of the program for improving the financial situation approved by the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

In connection with the failure to fulfill the 1989 plan for profits and reciprocal payments on the basis of annual recomputations, we intend to partially compensate losses to this year's budget at the expense of centralized funds and reserves of the ministries and departments. In a similar vein, we are planning to make clear to the customers the task for mobilizing internal reserves for capital construction in the current year, by virtue of employing to the maximum equipment not yet installed, material and commodity valuables, and monetary assets, counted as leftovers since January 1989. Of course, strict economy is necessary with available free budget resources, for which it is necessary to sharply limit the allocation of appropriations from the republic budget for above-plan expenditures. These proposals from Minfin have found support at the republic Council of Ministers, and are at the stage of development.

Considering the fact that last year the republic's budget received 135 million rubles above the plan, the MSSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree to direct 40 million rubles to reducing the budget deficit for the current year. Thus, it is already reduced by one-fourth.

These are the basic directions for eliminating the budget deficit. But even carrying out the measures indicated do not guarantee a stable financial situation for the republic in the future. Life points out that in the course of implementing plans for economic and social development the need arises for significant additional funds, and they must be earned. Every working collective, supervisors at all levels, and of course financial officials must always remember this.

MSSR Supreme Court Chairman Assesses Law on Demonstrations

18000642b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with MSSR Supreme Court Chairman V.S. Pushkash by ATEM correspondent: "Equal Rights, and Law and Order"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Constitution guarantees to all citizens both equal rights, and identical obligations. But how should the former be utilized without disregarding the latter, without encroaching upon the rights of other citizens? As is well-known, on 28 July 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree, "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstrations in the USSR;" and that the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree, "On Liability for Violating Established Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstrations," on 2 August 1988.

How are the indicated laws functioning today? How fully do they provide for realizing the citizens' constitutional rights? Do the republic's courts make use of these laws? MSSR Supreme Court Chairman V.S. Pushkash talks about these and other questions with an ATEM [Moldavian Press Agency] correspondent.

[Pushkash] The processes of perestroika taking place in our society and state will lead to great changes in the personal rights and liberties of the citizens, and will have filled with new content a great many rights and liberties extrapolated from the Constitution, which until this time had been lying quietly, as if asleep. Until recently the prevailing impression in public opinion was that the right for demonstrations or street processions was strictly confined to such holidays as 1 May and 7 November, and that the right to hold meetings belonged to trade unions, the party and the Komsomol, kolkhozes and others. And the practice took shape which has been preserved over the decades.

Democratization of our lives is decisively sweeping aside such practices. The initiative and activeness of the people and their genuine participation in the affairs of state brought into our political life by perestroika no longer have any place in the traditional framework, and are breaking it down. This is clearly seen in the extraordinarily powerful turnabout in social activeness. However, the liberated energies of the millions of people must be exercised within the framework of observing the constitutional rights and liberties of man. Democracy has nothing in common with permissiveness and anarchy. Karl Marx himself wrote that the code of laws is the people's bible of liberty. It is not violation of the laws, nor their arbitrary interpretation, but respect for and strict observance of the laws that makes our lives more democratic.

The above-mentioned laws were directed toward further development of the statutes fixed in Article 50 of the USSR Constitution and Article 48 of the MSSR Constitution. They are intended to ensure the equal enjoyment by all citizens of constitutional rights and liberties; they regulate the procedure of their realization; and they fix the guarantees of their implementation. At the same time these legal documents are directed toward forestalling spontaneous or ill-considered actions on the part of certain persons or groups of citizens, and guaranteeing public safety and the established procedure of government.

If we wish to set up a legal state and live in it, then we must remember one of the most important tenets of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, to wit: "Not one single state organ, responsible official, collective, party or social organization; and not one single person, is freed of the obligation of submitting to the law. Just as citizens bear responsibility to their national state, the powers of state bear responsibility to the citizens." Both the citizens and the organs of state power must be guided by these words. Both the obligations and the responsibilities are reciprocal.

[Correspondent] What are the procedures for holding gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations?

[Pushkash] A declaration concerning these actions is made to the executive committee of the appropriate local Soviet of People's Deputies. Such an appeal may be made by persons who have reached 18 years of age, and are authorized by the labor collectives of enterprises, institutions and organizations; or by the organs of cooperative and other social organizations; or, by organs of volunteer public organizations and separate groups of citizens. The application must be submitted no later than 10 days prior to the date on which they plan to conduct the events (for example, discussing the ecological situation in a certain rayon and coming up with suggestions on how to improve it; discussing the question of restoring the previous name of a populated place, street, etc.); the form of the event (gathering, meeting, street procession or demonstration); the place at which the events are to occur or the route of march; starting and finishing time of the events; the estimated number of participants; the surname, given name and patronymic of the authorized (organizers), their place of residence and work (or study); and the date the declaration was submitted.

Occasionally one hears statements that one may not, they say, go to a meeting in support of perestroika. Do you really need consent to discuss the kind of problem that has excited all citizens in the republic? I have to say that the adopted legislation merely regulates the procedure for conducting events and does not pertain to their content; although it also enumerates cases for banning such events.

The ispolkom as a corporate body examines the declaration and gives its consent to hold the event; but if its purpose is in conflict with the MSSR Constitution or poses a threat to public order and the safety of the citizens, the ispolkoms forbids it.

Since the adopted laws have gone into effect, more than 20 sanctioned gatherings and meetings have been held in Kishinev, in which tens of thousands of people took part. The citizens holding the meetings, gatherings and demonstrations had previously appealed to the ispolkom of the Soviet of People's Deputies; and upon reaching agreement on the the mandatory questions pertaining to the maintenance of law and order, they held them.

[Correspondent] What kind of liability is stipulated for violating the rules for holding gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations?

[Pushkash] By order of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 2 August 1988, administrative liability was introduced under Article 174 of the MSSR Administrative Code and criminal liability under Article 214 of the MSSR Criminal Code.

In accordance with the laws adopted, and also for the purposes of guaranteeing public order and protecting the rights and interests of the citizens when holding mass events, it has been stipulated that violation of the procedure for organizing or conducting gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations entails administrative liability in the form of a warning or a fine in an amount up to 300 rubles. In exceptional cases, if the circumstances of the case warrant and considering the character of the violator, and the use of these measures is deemed insufficient, liability is stipulated in the form of administrative arrest for a period up to 15 days.

For the very same actions, repeated within a year of the time in which the organizer of the gathering, meeting, street procession or demonstration was subjected to measures of administrative punishment, the law stipulates imposing a fine in an amount up to 1,000 rubles; or corrective labor for a period of one to two months during which 20 percent of the wages are withheld; or administrative arrest for a period up to 15 days.

For violation of established organizational procedure or holding gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstration, after administrative measures had been taken against its organizers for the very same offenses, the law stipulates criminal liability in the form of deprivation of freedom for a period up to six months, or up to one year of corrective labor, or a fine of up to 2,000 rubles.

Additionally, when carrying out the decree on imposing administrative punishment, the judge has the right to order the violator to leave the area, if he is not a resident of the given locality. Expenses connected with executing the given injunction are imposed on the violator.

[Correspondent] Are judges in the republic making use of the laws adopted?

[Pushkash] I regret to say that spontaneous gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations are springing up as well. In a number of cases this takes place because certain citizens simply do not know the procedure whereby they may realize their constitutional rights. It also happens that people are incited to take part in them by people who know the law full well, but act in contempt of it. It is well known that the Law first of all protects; but it can punish as well.

Since the adoption of the aforementioned laws, about 50 people have been subjected to administrative liability; one has been subjected to administrative arrest; one to corrective labor; 22 to fines of up to 200 rubles; and several have been given warnings. The judges have halted 16 cases in connection with lack of evidence; for lack of a case of misdemeanor; for not being of age to be charged with liability, and so on.

Among those brought to liability are—G.A. Dulutse, an instructor at the Karpinskaya Sports School for Children and Youths; I.M. Martya, a foreman at the Moldavgidromash Scientific-Production Association; A.I. Chebanu, an instructor in therapeutic gymnastics at Kishinev Polyclinic No 6; A.M. Pokhila, an engineer at the All-Union Design Technology Institute; D.I. Savostin, director of the Komratskaya Children's Art School; and others.

[Correspondent] Quite often those subjected to liability say that militia officials detained them at random. Is it possible that someone who happens to be passing by and stops to listen a while to the orators at a meeting—the legality of which is not clear to him—could be subjected to liability?

[Pushkash] Yes, it is possible. But here the following criteria must be applied. If the representative of the authorities declares in a sufficiently loud voice that the events are illegal, and if he demands that the crowd disperse and has given time for it to do so, then of course the chance passer-by would leave. And one who does not comply with the demand and remains, must be considered a participant in the illegal event.

[Correspondent] Under what circumstances must ongoing events be stopped?

[Pushkash] Gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations must be stopped upon demand of representatives of the authorities, if an application to hold them had not been made, or a decision had been made to

forbid them. But even sanctioned events can be stopped if, shall we say, during the meeting or gathering their participants deviate from the stated purpose for holding it and violate the agreement made with the ispolkom on the time or place; or if a threat arises to violation of public order.

Those authorized (the organizers) as well as other participants in sanctioned events are obligated to observe Soviet laws and public order. Under conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost, I repeat, everyone must remember that democracy and anarchy are incompatible.

Court Fines Organizers of Kishinev Rally
18000642c Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 3

[ATEM report under the "From the Halls of Justice" rubric: "The Law is the Same for Everyone"]

[Text] On 17 February the Frunzenskiy Rayon People's Court in city of Kishinev examined the case of law-violators brought to administrative liability for taking part in an unsanctioned meeting held on 12 February. On that date at about 2:00 PM, people began to gather at the monument to Stefan the Great. Suddenly placards with various slogans of an incendiary nature appeared in the hands of certain of the citizens, and insulting outcries were heard.

The police officers who arrived at the site of the unsanctioned meeting used megaphones to call upon those taking part in the meeting to cease their illegal action, and to refrain from creating a situation on Lenin Prospekt and Victory Square which would preclude free passage of pedestrians and vehicles. But these appeals had no effect.

Inasmuch as the participants in the unsanctioned meeting ignored the demands of the police officers, and thereby violated public order, several of them were taken to the duty section of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. There the identity of the detainees was established, and their illegal actions were documented.

ATEM correspondents who were present at the court sessions describe how these cases were examined in court, and the kind of punishment the violators received.

People's Judge V.P. Kuznetsov of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Court examined the case of temporarily unemployed workers Ye.P. Blinkova and V.N. Grebincha, and V.D. Unguryanu, director of the vocal-instrumental ensemble at the club of the Kishinev Tractor Plant Production Association. Grebincha and Blinkova arrived at the hall of justice late, and Unguryanu did not show up at all—but the case was examined without him, which the Law allows.

Grebincha and Blinkova asserted that they happened to be at Victory Square by chance, and that they remained there out of curiosity and were unable to leave because of the large concentration of people—although they had heard the repeated appeals of the militia officials to disperse. They also declared that they had no idea they were taking part in an unsanctioned meeting and thereby violating the public order. Since witnesses and the materials of the case did not refute these assertions, the judge halted the proceedings since there was no violation of administrative law.

Unguryanu admitted in a written explanation the fact of his participation in an unsanctioned meeting. According to the materials of the case, there was evidence that he had urged other citizens to ignore the appeals of the authorities, and continue the illegal action. The judge levied a 20 ruble fine on him.

People's Judge B.I. Aleksandrov of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Court examined the materials with respect to the cases of I.D. Diligul, an instructor at the Kishinev Communication Tekhnikum; S.V. Tomsha, an artist at the Literary Museum imeni D. Kantemir; and V.G. Arkhip, greenhouse manager at the Vierul Viticulture Scientific Research Institute of Moldavia. They had taken part in an unsanctioned meeting on Victory Square in Kishinev, thereby committing a violation of the law stipulated in Article 174 of the Code on Administrative Law Violations. All three denied that they had violated the law; however, their guilt was confirmed by the charge sheets and reports of the militia officials.

On the basis of the materials cited above, a decree was issued to apply administrative punishment. In accordance with the nature of their actions: I.D. Diligul was given a warning, and S.V. Tomsha and V.G. Arkhip were fined 30 and 50 rubles, respectively.

People's Judge P.V. Ursakiy of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Court examined the cases of I.V. Lavrik, a member of the Vierul Cooperative; F.D. Kurnik, an electrician at a plant in Kishinev; L.D. Tofan, a tractor and machinery operator at the administration of the Promstroy Production Equipment Assembly Trust; V.T. Chekan, a motor-mechanic at Rescue Station No 5 of Kishinevzelenstroy; and I.A. Novitskiy, a driver at the ATB [Aviation Equipment Base] of the Administration of Economic Affairs, MSSR Council of Ministers.

During the course of the examination, it was established that Novitskiy had not taken part in an unsanctioned meeting. This was confirmed by materials on the case and by testimony of a witness. Therefore the administrative case against him was closed.

Over the next several hours further hearings on the case ensued. Lavrik, Kurnik, Tofan and Chekan asserted that they had not committed illegal acts—although at that time they were in the vicinity of Victory Square. However, the facts expounded in the materials on the case

testified to the contrary. A number of witnesses were questioned in the presence of an attorney, and the speech of the defense attorney was heard.

The verdict of the People's Court was: for violation of the law stipulated in the article of the Moldavian SSR code on administrative law, I.V. Lavrik was fined 100 rubles; while F.D. Kurnik, L.D. Tofan and V.T. Chekan were each fined 30 rubles.

Frunzenskiy Rayon People's Judge I.V. Peduraru examined the case of V.F. Ababiy, a driver at Kishinev ATB-1; A.K. Kazaku, a technician at one of the southwestern specialized administrations; G.M. Taku and G.S. Perchun, electricians at the Zapsibenergostroy Trust of Surgut; and M.V. Moroshanu, leading engineer at the Tekhstroyproekt Planning Design and Technological Institute. Of this group, only three were present in the hall of justice—V.F. Ababiy and G.M. Taku did not appear at the hearing.

As the case was being heard, which continued for several hours, witnesses were questioned from among the militia officials and civilians who had been on Victory Square on 12 February. In their testimony, G.S. Perchun and A.K. Kazaku asserted that they happened to be on the square by chance, that they did not commit any illegal acts, and that they were among those detained at random.

After thoroughly analyzing the available materials on the case—the charge sheets and photographs from the site of the events, and the testimony of witnesses questioned in the hall of sessions and beforehand, the People's Judge found that the actions of A.K. Kazaku were of a passive nature, and that V.F. Ababiy had not violated the public order. The case against the latter was dropped for lack of proof and the nature of the misdemeanor. The activities of Taku and Perchun were determined to be quite the opposite. According to the facts laid out in the materials of the case, they had taken an active part in the disturbances, and shouted obscenities in everyone's hearing while they were being detained by the police officers.

The case of M.V. Moroshanu was examined separately, inasmuch as he was charged with not only taking part in an unsanctioned meeting, but also for deliberately failing to obey the police officers and resisting arrest; however, that part of his guilt was not proven. During the course of the examination it was established that he had not resisted the police officers, but merely openly expressed his displeasure with regard to crude methods of detaining citizens.

The court proved that during the unsanctioned meeting, M.V. Moroshanu played the role of one of the organizers of the mass disturbances, which aggravated tensions in the situation which ensued. Specifically, he did not react to the warnings of the police officers, he called upon people not to leave the square, and he demanded release of those who were detained.

G.S. Perchun, A.K. Kazaku and M.V. Moroshanu were represented by defense attorney B.F. Gazun.

The People's Court delivered a decree on the adoption of the following administrative punishment with respect to these citizens: A.K. Kazaku was given a warning; G.S. Perchun and G.M. Taku were fined 100 rubles; and M.V. Moroshanu was sentenced to two months corrective labor, with 20 percent of his earnings withheld.

All decisions are final and not subject to appeal.

Scholars on Legal Aspects of Ukrainian Peoples' Movement

18000870 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
12 Mar 89 p 3

[Article under the "Scholars Answer Readers' Questions" rubric: "With a Policy of Democracy"]

[Text] Recently the editors' mail has contained quite a few letters in which our readers express their judgments about post-April developments in our political system; they want an analysis of various phenomena associated with the spread of Soviet democracy, and they are asking many questions.

Specifically, it has been noted that recently not only the traditional forms of Soviet democracy are operating, but new ones are springing up as well. How does one analyze, from a position of expert knowledge of government, the growth in number and activeness of the various organizations, societies, and civic associations—including the unofficial ones? How should one relate to such a process? Responding to these questions at the request of the editors are: Doctor of Juridical Sciences L.T. Krivenko, leading scientific associate, and Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.B. Averyanov, section chief at the State and Law Institute, UkSSR Academy of Sciences.

[Krivenko] The 27th CPSU Congress defined the strategic line for developing our society's political system as—perfecting Soviet democracy. Subsequently, the 19th All-Union Party Conference proposed the task of cardinal reform of the political system. The realization of this policy is altogether natural, and is following both the path of renewing and restructuring existing state and public institutions, and that of creating new ones. And this is understandable. After all, a process of grand-scale revolutionary transformation is developing, which touches all spheres of life, and which would be unthinkable without creativity and new forms of democracy.

This process is a complex one, and is interconditional. In order that it might flow normally and promote to the greatest extent the accelerated emergence of our society from the state of stagnation, it seems to me that it is necessary to support more active participation of social scientists, including jurists, in the process. And this in particular concerns preparation of the appropriate programs as well.

In this vein, today I would like to focus attention on the draft program of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika. Along with the progressive provisions, it contains quite a few which give rise to doubts. (Here, it goes without saying, I am concerned with only the juridical aspects of the problem).

Let us take for example, Article 4, point "e" of the draft, in which it states that the movement submits proposals for referenda and renders assistance in conducting them. However, defining the organs authorized to introduce proposals for conducting referenda is a prerogative of the Constitution and the law. Consequently, granting this right to the movement, as stated in the draft we are examining, is illegal:

The draft also contains a provision on the necessity for clear-cut delimitation, by constitutional procedure, of the authority and sphere of jurisdiction of the local Soviets, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet. But the fact of the matter is, that such delimitation is carried out by the Basic Law of the USSR and the Constitution of the UkSSR. Above all, the national Constitution establishes that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is authorized to take up, examine, and resolve any question falling under the jurisdiction of the USSR. It is completely clear that this itself eliminates the possibility of nationwide organs examining questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the union republics and their highest organs. At the same time, Articles 108 and 113 of the national Constitution enumerate questions falling under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

It is exceptionally important that the updated USSR Constitution takes a serious step in the direction of expanding the rights of the union republics. The updated Basic Law of the USSR contains a principally new statute: the authority of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, the republic Supreme Soviets, its Presidium and its Chairman, is determined by the Constitution of the union republics. Optimal resolution of the question of the authority of the aforementioned organs is one of the central problems, which is currently being resolved in connection with preparation of the draft Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

The published draft of the NDU [Ukrainian People's Movement] gives rise to other remarks similar to those cited, and of a different kind as well.

The realities of our times, on the one, hand prove the necessity of learning to live and work under conditions of democracy; and on the other, they demand consolidation and activation of our common efforts, to the end that our democracy develops progressively on the path to reform of the political system.

[Averyanov] The precondition for the expansion of the number and forms of civic associations now taking place is—the wide variety of interests of the classes, nations,

nationalities and other social groups which make up our socialist society. After all, its uniqueness is not at all found in the leveling of social aspirations; on the contrary: socialism by its very nature has an interest in creating the conditions for bringing out the diversity of man's creative capabilities.

Further, we note that the growing diversity of the civic associations today rests on an increasingly assertive democratization, which (in accordance with the USSR Constitution) includes "an increase in the activeness of social organizations;" that is, expanding their composition, forms and methods of work; and more energetic participation in the solution of political, economic and socio-cultural questions. I recall that Article 51 of the USSR Constitution and Article 49 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR acknowledge the right of Soviet citizens to establish social organizations which promote "the development, political activeness and independence of the citizens, and satisfy their multi-faceted interests." It is important that in accordance with the constitutional norms the state not only proclaims the right of the citizens to unite in organizations, but also guarantees the conditions for them to carry out the tasks they have prescribed.

At the same time one must see the real, existing danger of exaggeration, within the framework of public associations, of group and exclusively corporate interests. Bearing this in mind, one must acknowledge that one single social force in isolation, elevating itself above all the rest or devouring them, is simply incapable of (and to put it bluntly, does not have the authority, since it has no nationwide mandate) of taking it upon itself to guarantee that cardinal changes are made in all spheres of society. And it is no accident that the Communist Party, which still rules under conditions of a historically-evolving one-party system in our country, has firmly adopted a policy of full authority for the Soviets of People's Deputies; of political partnership with social organizations; and of unconditional rejection of diktat, the command manner. Taking all this into consideration, it is hardly appropriate, neither from the point of view of scientific grounding, nor from the ability to carry out, for example, the intention "to be the social guarantee of the revolutionary renovation of society," as declared in the draft program of the Ukrainian Peoples' Movement for Perestroika.

In essence, such a guarantee can be consolidated only on a platform of truly socialist ideals and values of a society in the person of all its state and social institutions, and all links of its political system.

At the same time, there is an exceptionally important role for the vanguard political link, whose mission it is to promote harmony and equitable accounting for the various social interests, and to build political relations on the basis of social justice and tolerance for one another. And if one looks at things soberly, today we really have no other social force except the CPSU, which is really

capable of carrying out the function of uniting and co-ordinating the efforts and activities of all strata of the population; and, of uniting the citizens, including the creative societies, in the interests of revolutionary restructuring. But in order to do this the party itself must change, and re-assert in every way its Leninist aspect. And the party is doing this, although not so rapidly as one would like, at all echelons. I believe the main thing is that the party, through its policy which it has expounded in the documents of the 19th Party Conference, has provided an outlet for the civic initiative and energy of the people. And it is providing the energy for this in the disassembly of the bureaucratic-command system, in the struggle with the all-powerful bureaucratic apparatus, and in the construction of a legal socialist state. Only such a party, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed once again in his meeting with the workers of Kiev, is capable of bringing the cause of perestroika to its conclusion.

More Speeches from Tashkent Conference on Interethnic Ties

Political Terminology Discussed

18300465 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
2 Mar 89 p 3

[Speech by A.I. Doronchikov, senior science associate at the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU Central Committee and doctor of philosophical sciences: "Scientific and Methodological Bases in Controlling Interethnic Relations, International and Patriotic Education"]

[Text] The reports which have been given by the participants of our meeting were heard with great interest.

The subject of my speech is devoted to the problem of the methodological and scientific bases in controlling interethnic relations. As you yourselves understand, in that brief period of time which is assigned for a speech, it is difficult to posit and take up all of the main problems. But I would like to point out the following above all: the task posed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference of directly studying the entire range of problems which have built up and are related to the multinational nature of our society presupposes not merely a criticism of the errors and nationalistic distortions which have occurred but along with this, an obligatory consideration of specific regional features and a professionally honed analysis of the inner development of the nations and relations between them.

A materialistic understanding of history, and nationality problems included, is based to a certain degree on the thesis of Marx and Engels: peoples who develop material production and their own material intercourse, along with this activity also alter their thinking and, respectively, the products of their thinking. In other words, national life, like interethnic contact, incorporates economic, social, political and cultural relations. Prof Yusupov has spoken here of the changes in the lives of

peoples who have come to socialism in bypassing capitalism in the economic, political and spiritual spheres. However, he has not taken up the social sphere, without which an analysis cannot be complete. It would be interesting to study how class structure and social relations have changed in peoples who have moved along the path from feudalism to the socialist stage. The importance of this problem need scarcely be proven.

From the scientific viewpoint, nationality policy cannot be separated from its material, social and spiritual base. A citizen belonging to any nationality, in living in a society, cannot be free of his surroundings, from the socioeconomic formation inherent to this society or from the specific features of the political system. In assuming certain social values, he endeavors to understand their value for his own nation. As a result with that universal literacy which presently exists in our country, it is possible—and in practice this is encountered everywhere—for a false notion to develop of an individual concerning the scientific comprehension of all nationality problems by him. An incorrect approach to nationality problems is inherent only to a person with commonplace awareness. At times, persons who have gained academic degrees also "suffer" from this.

Recently we have begun to see the most diverse and, from my viewpoint, unscientific statements which in their extravagance draw not only the attention but at times the sympathy of the reader or listener. Not so long ago Doctor of Historical Sciences Kuzmin in the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK, clearly without giving much thought to this, stated that supposedly antagonistic nations do not exist and somewhat later he, contrary to the truth, asserted that the term "socialist fatherland" had not been employed by V.I. Lenin. Thus, a person vested with academic degrees and titles goes before a wide audience and begins stating views without in any way considering real science. In such instances what has become of the responsibility of a scientific worker? Are these prophets not concerned by the consequences of such statements? Certainly our people are accustomed to believing scientists, their words and advice.

During the years of stagnation, we gave virtually no attention to the problems of controlling nationality relations. It is no accident that there is such a heap of letters which are presently building up at the party Central Committee on these questions. The level of ordinary awareness in the nationality sphere lags far behind scientific awareness which also needs a scientific adjustment.

One small example in this context. At one time I happened to speak with a certain comrade on the problems of nationality relations. He, without beating around the bush, stated: "You Russians are all chauvinists." I tried to argue: "What makes you say that?" "You certainly also are a chauvinist," he continued. "But why?" I asked. "When Shtokolov sings the song 'Around the Island Into the Stream,' you certainly listen to it with satisfaction. Is

that not so?" "Yes," I replied, without feeling that this was in any way criminal. "But certainly that song is chauvinistic," he immediately "enlightened" me. "But why?" "Because Razin throws the 'Persian woman' overboard!"

I did not immediately know what to reply to such an "argument." "Let us take a look at the entire content of the song," I told him. "Remember the words: 'A murmur is heard behind us: we are exchanged for an old woman....' Not for a 'Persian woman,' but for an 'old woman.' Further: 'And on the morrow I myself had become an old woman,' an old woman and not a Persian.... Hence, it is not the nationality problem that is reflected in the song but actually the problem of a leader's duty to subordinates."

This somewhat anecdotal example shows nevertheless how wrong can be the notions on a level of the ordinary awareness of man. Such notions, when without any science and without studying the theory of interethnic relations everything is clear, alas, are very widespread among us. This is why the process of controlling these relations should be aimed at raising everyday awareness up to a scientific level.

A few words on terminology. In the political press, scientists have been repeatedly rebuked for the fact that they have delved into the content of scientific definitions forgetting about the essence of nationality trends and the current realities of interethnic relations. This criticism, in my view, is only relatively correct. The problem is that science cannot exist and develop if the scientists and politicians, in employing the same terminology and the same concepts, invest a different content in them.

"We are in favor of internationalism," say, for example, the supporters of the People's Front of Estonia. "We are also in favor of internationalism," say the supporters of the Estonian Inter-movement, repeating them. But here is how the People's Front understands internationalism as follows from its political document, the Program of the People's Front: "Internationalism, the main content of which is national tolerance...." Analyze this and just imagine: peoples from different nationalities travel on the same bus, they tolerate one another in this commotion only because they are internationalists. Because they tolerate one another! Isn't this absurd? Much more correct, in my view, is the stance of the Estonian Inter-movement supporters who feel that the main content of internationalism is the solidarity of workers from different nations, solidarity in the struggle for socialism and in the struggle for perestroika.

A Philistine perceives the tendency of the Estonian People's Front members according to the principle of "untruths are not printed" while scientists should have a different approach. There should be both nationality, class and, finally, scientific responsibility. Nationality relations are a process. It can slow down over time or move onto the sidelines of the crucial requirements of

mankind but the main thing in it is progress forward. In keeping with this movement there should also be an improvement in science and its category apparatus so that behind each category there is a content which is generally accepted for science. Only then is it possible to have a positive practical return from the scientific research and which establishes a firm base for leadership over interethnic relations.

The second thing to which I would like to draw attention as a methodologically important problem is the question of the deformations in the theory and practice of nationality relations in our country. A scientific approach to nationality policy requires from its actual implementers a systematic analysis of previous errors. Certainly negative experience is also experience. And this is equally important as positive experience.

We say a great deal about the shortcomings and deformations. The time has come to attempt to make them into a system and bring out the shortcomings in policy which have arisen objectively due to the difficulties of the nationality processes as well as the political errors and even the crimes which have come about due to subjectivistic actions and have brought suffering to the peoples.

The first group of such phenomena is related to the objective difficulties in resolving the nationality question in such a multinational country as Russia was on the eve of Great October.

Let us recall, in the first place, the attitudes of the politicians and the masses during the years when the nationality question began to be resolved in our country. The October Revolution had just occurred and people were living in expectation of world revolution. The party was also counting on it. For this reason, certain political forms were established in the view that they would be temporary. The people's republics in the Central Asian region were initially to be thus. But practice later was to show that it was essential to seek out the ways from moving to these forms to more substantial and real ones.

Secondly, in his time Lenin emphasized that in order to manage one must be competent. In the sphere of nationality policy, this meant not only a knowledge of scientific theory but also the necessity of a creative approach to the problems being resolved. A thorough study of the specific features of the occurring changes was extremely necessary but we neglected the presence of the remnants of kinship and tribal relations. But these kinship and tribal relations, as it turned out, are operating even today. They have thrived under the conditions of socialist social relations, they have conformed to these relations and adapted to them.

Thirdly, we did not consider the rapid reproduction and low mobility of the population which are traditional for the so-called "Moslem" peoples and this led to the

presence of surplus manpower in certain areas and an acute shortage in others. This important circumstance has not been taken into account until very recently.

Fourthly, the formation of a nationality working class was in fact left to fend for itself. Among a number of nations which at one time became drawn into capitalist relations, after a socialist revolution this class was formed, but among a number of others the nationality working class is insignificantly slight in industrial production even now. As a result, the main share of industrial product, for example in Kazakhstan and in the Central Asian region, often comes from a working class of a different nationality.

Here, finally, one can also feel the presence of different nations and nationalities on the territory of the Union republics. But it must not be forgotten that the needs of industrialization brought about the construction of new enterprises while a trained labor force did not exist on the spot and had to be brought in. As a result, there were misalignments in the social structure of certain nations, when the nationality industrial working class was clearly insufficient and its functions were performed by the working class of a different nationality. With good reason now there is the task of forming an active detachment of the working class from the nations which gave the name to the republics.

Fifthly, consideration was not given to the natural gravitation of the small nations for self-preservation. The departmental policy in the Baltic, for example, exacerbated the situation, in encouraging a tendency for turning certain nations into national minorities. The grounds arose for national mistrust. We are now being forced to overcome what we ourselves instigated.

Finally, sixthly, the inflexible policy of compulsory atheism has done indisputable harm to the cause of internationalism, as has been mentioned here. I will merely emphasize that we have a polyconfessional population, that is, there are over 40 religions and faiths. This must also be considered.

The second group of distortions and violations of nationality policy is linked to voluntaristic actions. First of all, we would point out that the lion's share of distortions in the Leninist nationality policy was linked to the name of Stalin. His initial authority caused before the revolution by his actions in defense of a scientific approach to solving nationality problems and then by positive results in the activities of the Narkomnats [People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs] for a long time operated as a factor which veiled his deviations from the Leninist line. This continued until 1922, when Stalin, not wishing to consider the sovereignty of the peoples who had been previously enslaved and then liberated by the October Revolution, came up with the idea of autonomization and which had been rejected by Lenin.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Stalin's animosity toward the nationality cadres who had been loyal to Leninism was accompanied, as you know, by repressions which were concealed by the "necessity" of combating bourgeois nationalism.

By the first half of the 1940s, during the period of the Great Patriotic War, entire peoples were moved by force from the Crimea, the Volga and Northern Caucasus. Contrary to the logic of Marxism, an equal sign was put between the traitors of the fatherland and entire peoples. At the end of the 1940s and the start of the 1950s, a struggle was artificially encouraged against cosmopolitanism combined with distorted propaganda of the absolute superiority of domestic science and culture over Western models. This was accompanied, as you know, by the notorious case of the "Doctors' Plot" which had anti-Semitic overtones. All of this caused serious harm to our nationality policy.

In this context I would like to say a few words on how the rash political postulates which state leaders and party workers have voiced have at times had a negative impact on our nationality policy and the attitude toward it.

Let us take a look at Article 15 of the 1936 USSR Constitution. This states that the sovereignty of nations is limited to Article 14. Thus, we established the idea of the limited sovereignty of the socialist nations and our ideological opponents were not shy on picking this up, accusing us of the legislative encroachment on the sovereignty of nations.

Furthermore, let us recall the article written by the Secretary of the Party Central Committee Andreyev who, on the pages of the press, came out with a thesis that a unified Soviet nation was being formed in the USSR. This was a time when the process was underway of analyzing such a phenomenon as the Soviet people, a new historical international community. Such an irresponsible statement did not do honor to our science. It led to a distorted understanding of the process of forming the Soviet commonwealth of nations and again our ideological opponents were not slow in taking advantage of this.

Of course, in speaking about nationality relations and nationality policy, it must be emphasized that this problem is related to the contradictoriness of nationality relations, whether we like this or not. These relations are contradictory not because the contradictions arise as personal ones, that is, between individual representatives of nations on a level of ordinary awareness (there were more than enough such contradictions before and they obviously will be later), but because the very movement of a society along a socialist path encountered a whole series of objective difficulties which had to be overcome. Our science, in being concerned basically with the positive trends, unfortunately, forgot about the negative ones. If one turns, for instance, to an analysis of the subjects of dissertations defended over the last 3

years, then out of more than 100 works, 1 out of 10 dissertations was devoted to a criticism of foreign bourgeois ideologists, around 20 percent to the problems of education while the basic mass of works was related to the successes of nationality policy. There was not a single study of the contradictions in nationality relations arising on a socialist, nonantagonistic basis. Such problems still are appearing. We have not properly investigated the questions of nationality awareness, internationalist awareness, and there still is no answer to the question of what is the "psychology of nationalism" and what is the "psychology of chauvinism"? These are acute problems. We avoided them previously and we are avoiding them now. Who knows what the psychology of the working class is or the psychology of the peasantry? What about the psychology of the intelligentsia? In my view, the representatives of the intelligentsia are presently the initiators of many negative phenomena in the nationality area. Have they always analyzed nationality relations and our nationality problems? What is the psychology of the intelligentsia and how has this influenced interethnic relations? At present, we cannot say anything about this.

In other words, in the works of scientists on the theoretical problems of interethnic relations, there have been numerous "blank spots" which, in our view, must be eliminated by science in the near future.

Or the following question. At one time, a great deal was written about the so-called "German miracle" and the "Japanese miracle." These "miracles" had a specific hue: not only a social but also a national one, an attitude toward labor. Unfortunately, at home we did not consider this important question of the polyvariant nature of the ethnocultural features of labor activity. The German and the Japanese on the job excel in accurate execution of the labor program and in a high production efficiency. Each people has its own noteworthy ethnocultural features of labor activity. These must also be employed in the interests of socialism.

In returning to the problem of international and patriotic education, I would like to take up only one problem, the problem of yours and my responsibility to the younger generation. Our society, of course, needs intelligent books devoted to the socialist nations and to interethnic relations, it needs reliable literature on history. This is all well and good. But it also needs the responsibility of persons who speak from rostrums as politicians, scientists and cultural leaders.

In this context I cannot bypass the moral position of the writer Timur Pulatov who you obviously know, whose works you possibly love and who is not against talking about the ethics of internationality intercourse and who at an open party meeting in the Uzbek Writers' Union justified the high birthrate in the republic by the fact that supposedly "the people were protecting themselves against destruction." In my viewpoint, both completely amoral and also contradicting Lenin's nationality policy was his statement from the rostrum of a session held in

Tashkent of the Children's Literature Section of the USSR Writers' Union that supposedly a group of Uzbek children was called back early from the Russian Orlenok Pioneer Camp because supposedly, to put it mildly, of the incorrect attitude toward them on the part of the Russians. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA checked out this statement and had an unambiguous judgment of it: "Let us call things by their real names...in the given instance it is a question of a consciously disseminated untruth."

Let it be hoped that each person coming before the public with words about interethnic relations will be aware of the responsibility for the consequences of his actions. Nationality problems are a delicate matter! An understanding of this will make it possible for us to best respond to the vital questions of theory and practice in the perestroika of our society.

Turkmen CP CC's Durdyev

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28 Feb 89 p 2

[Speech by Kh.D. Durdyev, secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee: "The Activities of the Party and Soviet Organs of Turkmenistan to Satisfy the Sociocultural Needs in the Nationality Groups of the Population"]

[Text] Among the Turkmen they say: "If you do not have good bread, have a good word." This folk wisdom records the ideal worked out over centuries of relations between people, when these relations were founded on truly human principles, on reciprocal moral sensitivity, nobility and selflessness, when persons and peoples responded to the needs and requests of one another not out of compelling will but rather out of the imperatives of the heart and conscience. And it has seemed to us that this great ideal was completely embodied in our Leninist multinational collaboration, when any nation and any nationality were always at the crucial moment not only the "good" word for one another but also the good bread. We believed that in this unity of different nationalities and peoples all of us would flourish.

But, alas, such sincerity entailed for us serious complications and reality corrected us harshly and unforgivingly.

The communists and workers of Turkmenistan have carefully followed the events and processes occurring in the Baltic, Moldavia, Transcaucasia and the other regions of the nation, for in our republic, regardless of the overall well-being, individual adherents of nationalistic ideas, frequently under the direct effect of these events, have endeavored to play on the feelings of national resentment and the encroaching of rights and interests. It is essential that the party committees and organizations not be caught at the tail of events but rather conduct profound socialist research and carry out anticipatory actions and promptly eliminate the tension.

Due to the healthy purgative process which is now occurring in society after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the philosophy of the best-of-possible-worlds has become a matter of the past. People have now begun to think where we are now, at what stage and what sort of socialism we are building. This has led to a significant rise in the self-awareness of the people, a process that is completely normal and healthy. Naturally, this could not help but also touch on the sphere of interethnic relations. One cannot help but point out that precisely among the small peoples, the national minorities, and they, for example, in our Turkmenistan comprise almost one-third of the republic population, active self-awareness is making itself strongly felt.

We would be bad internationalists if we did not notice this, if we ignored the occurring fermentation of minds, if we did not seek out the causes but drove the problems deeper.

As is known, the command-administrative system which in ideological and political terms was based on the world view and practice of a class struggle which would intensify as progress was made toward socialism, could not help but lead to the sacrificing of effective, vital nationality relations and interests, although it consistently professed the principle of "equality of nations" in terms of the repressed individuals of all nationalities.

In being a concentrated and official expression of the subjective moment of warped socialism, the command-bureaucratic system caused a lack of attention paid to nationality problems in both the economic, the political, the legal, ideological, cultural and everyday spheres. For example, the nationalizing of all production and property, the actual elimination of cooperatives, trades and handicrafts did not focus the economic mechanism on a consideration and realization of the national factor.

In the legal area, the consequences of the years-long lack of attention to this sphere were expressed in an incomplete notion of a state of law and human rights in close linkage to nationality.

In the political area, this inattention was materialized in the absence of a special state administrative body which would be constantly and actually concerned with solving nationality questions as such, that is, with satisfying the specific socioeconomic and spiritual needs of both the indigenous nation as well as the representatives of the nonindigenous nationalities living on its territory.

In a word, precisely in this most complex and delicate sphere of social life there was lacking that greatest attentiveness the necessity of which had been pointed out by V.I. Lenin.

This is if one takes the problem as a whole. But we at times forget that the development of interethnic relations to a significant degree is also influenced by the fact

that the peoples of our nation, having begun to build socialism, were in a differing stage of development. For example, take the persons from Afghanistan who live on the territory of our republic. Certainly we may assume that the Baluchi, Jamshids and Berbers after the October Revolution and until the 1930s remained a nomadic, livestock-raising population with strong kinship and tribal ties and traditions. Individual groups of them even up to the 1960s, often because of conflicts with the local authorities or individual leaders, gathered together and moved to other places or rayons. This told on the development of the sociodomic sphere as well as the general educational and cultural level. This was also aided by the desire of these peoples to stand apart and to move further away from a cultural center, the cultural zone, the kolkhoz farmstead and so forth. Hence, each time new communal-domestic utilities had to be provided, schools, public health and cultural institutions built. And since during the period of stagnation the sociodomic sphere was shaped following the residual principle, while the Baluch kolkhozes themselves, because of low profitability, did not have funds for building them, these problems gradually built up and caused social tension. Moreover, these peoples lacked the necessary number of their own skilled cadres of teachers, physicians, engineers, economists, agronomists and so forth. Understandably with the present demands on the personnel, in converting to intensive management methods and technology, the Baluchi were removed from the leadership due to the low general educational level. This is not the fault but rather the misfortune for the representatives of the Baluchi and other peoples. We should take effective measures to rectify the situation.

Moreover, for many years we measured the well-being of interethnic relations in percentages. If their representation in the party, soviet, state bodies, in social organizations corresponded to the numerical number, we felt that the problem had been eliminated. We, unfortunately, gave no thought to the fact of how realistically these people represented the interests of the nation or nationality, did they know how to defend them and at the same time carry out party policy among their own people, lead the masses, that is, be political leaders. Unfortunately, this was not the case. And now this is essential as never before.

Now about the questions which are being raised by our national minorities. These vary in content but in them one can clearly trace at what stage of development one or another nation or nationality is. If, for example, one speaks about the Uzbek nationality which lives traditionally on the territory of the Tashauz and Chardzhou Oblasts or the Kazakh in the western regions of the republic, then it will be above all a question of a desire to learn, to listen to the radio, to watch television, read books and newspapers in their own language. That is, it is a question of the preservation of their unique age-old culture and language.

I would like to emphasize that common positive feature which is found in all the letters received by us. The

people do not wish to further tolerate the disorder of the period of stagnation, when many leaders allowed themselves not to notice the small minorities, not to consider their opinion and ignore their requests and legitimate demands. Manifestations of subjectivism and the violating of the principle of collectivism created social tension. In our recruitment and promotion to leadership positions, for example, the crucial factors were often not the professional, political and moral qualities but rather nationality, personal loyalty, servility and sycophancy, kinship and local ties. The party and soviet structures, the law enforcement bodies and cultural institutions were formed with nationality defects. The 6th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee dealt a significant blow to such an approach.

The Turkmen CP Central Committee resolution on organizational and political work by the party organizations of Mari Oblast to improve the level of interethnic relations and solve social problems was the starting point for perestroyka of the work in the republic. This marked the beginning to a qualitatively new approach to solving the problems in this very important sphere of social life and to returning to a Leninist methodology and policy in shaping nationality relations in our republic, and became a document of a general republic nature. At the same time, a comprehensive program was adopted for cultural and social development to 1995 for the four rayons of mass residence by the nonindigenous population of Mari Oblast; this program was worked out by the Turkmen Council of Ministers.

Measures have been taken to improve the economy of the Baluchi kolkhozes and the family, lease contract is being introduced. Consideration has been given to the interests of the various nationality groups of the population in the area of language and cultural development. Of the 1,628 schools, currently 1,307 are national [Turkmen], 105 are mixed nationality-Russian, 108 schools are Russian, 77 are Uzbek and 31 have a Kazakh language of instruction. As of this year, we have satisfied the request of the Baluchi for teaching their language as a subject. For now this is done as an elective, but in the long run a curriculum will be worked out, the alphabet has already been converted from Latin to Cyrillic and a core of Baluchi-language instructors in the schools is being formed from Baluchi teachers and graduates of the pedagogical institutes. There has been a selection of 34 Baluchi school graduates outside of competition for the higher and specialized secondary schools of the republic.

There are two rayon newspapers in the nationality languages, the Tashauzskiy Rayon newspaper PAKHTA-KOR in Uzbek and the Krasnovodskiy Rayon newspaper in Kazakh, and under its editorial board is a literary association of young Kazakh poets and prose writers. They have begun regular broadcasts in the nationality languages over republic television and the oblast radio broadcasting.

As a whole, there is representation of the various nationalities in the state bodies and the economic apparatus.

But we are more alarmed by other facts. Recently, for example, a group of representatives of the Farsi nationality living in our republic turned to the soviet bodies. They demanded the organizing of production brigades along nationality lines.

The erroneousness of such a demand is obvious. We must not separate the nations and nationalities but, on the contrary, do everything so that they live, work, rest and study side by side, shoulder to shoulder. Practice shows that when people share the same goods, when they live and work under the same conditions, there are no reciprocal complaints, no differences of opinion, no social grounds for hostility, but, on the contrary, there is respect, friendship, mutual understanding and support.

As we see, the questions are far from standard and for a correct solution they require a more profound and skilled approach on the part of the party committees, the executive committees and other organizations.

Positive experience has been gained by the Iolotanskiy Party Raykom. Here a specific comprehensive program has been worked out for the social and cultural development of the Baluchi settlements and kolkhozes, funds have been provided and are being used for building schools, hospitals, children's preschool institutions, roads and utility-service facilities, and special-initiative and individual construction is being developed. At present, the Baluchi which numbers some 14 percent of the rayon population are widely represented in the party, soviet and Komsomol bodies and the cultural institutions, they hold leading positions in economic work, they head schools, hospitals and so forth. Here elections are being held on a democratic basis. Special-initiative groups are being set up from the representatives of the Baluchi population and these are being employed to resolve all the arising problems, the citizens are being received and rural assemblies held. It has been possible to overcome the psychological barrier among the Baluchi parents. For the first time, young Baluchi girls are going to school. At present, there is a healthy moral and psychological climate in the rayon. These are not the only such examples.

The main thing is that we are endeavoring not to let the problems build up but rather resolve them as they arise. There still are many of them. We lack textbooks in Kazakh and Uzbek languages and teachers for various subjects and there are not enough schools teaching in the nationality languages. Here it is essential to have common efforts, the exchange of personnel, special admission to the VUZes, the supply of textbooks, artistic and other literature in the nationality languages. Due to the absence of relays, individual rayons cannot watch programs of Turkmen, Uzbek and Kazakh television, and the distribution of magazines and newspapers in the Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak languages has been

poorly organized. We have much to do for actually introducing nationality-Russian bilingualism and this is very important for improving the level of interethnic contacts.

I would like to voice several ideas of an all-Union scale.

It seems essential as practical measures to provide, in the first place, as part of the future superior state bodies of the Union republics for the establishing of a special permanent body (state committee or committee of the congress of people's deputies of the republic or a committee (and not a commission)) of the Supreme Soviet which will be systematically concerned with resolving the interethnic problems. Secondly, we must provide priority development for the scientific and technical means which ensure a high level and saturation of interethnic relations:

—Equipment for simultaneous translation from the language of the indigenous nation into other languages (Russian and so forth) in conducting meetings, conferences and so forth and analogously in student auditoriums. The technical basis for this should be raised to an immeasurably higher level;

—Organize and in every possible way broaden the production of computers for direct contact in different languages using programs for the various linguistic regions;

—The further development of three-program radio broadcasting into multiprogram, with central broadcasting to each republic;

—The further broadening of television broadcasting (central, republic, oblast and even local) in the languages of the indigenous and nonindigenous peoples of the republics and regions;

—Orientation of the large consumer goods industry being established for a harmonious combination of modern products with the broadest assortment of cultural and domestic articles of a traditional, national sort;

—The greatest possible development of cooperation related to restoring folk crafts and national trades.

In considering the difficulties encountered, the republic party organization is preparing carefully for the forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on interethnic questions.

We are fully aware that we have no grounds for complacency, although in our republic there does not exist such tension in the atmosphere of interethnic relations as is observed in the nation's individual regions. The problems do exist. It is our task to resolve them in a party manner, honestly and justly, in a spirit of the truly revolutionary perestroika processes occurring in the nation.

Karakalpak Obkom's Salykov

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28 Feb 89 p 2

[Speech by K. Salykov, first secretary of the Karakalpak Party Obkom: "Equalizing the Levels of Socioeconomic Development in the Various Regions of the Nation—A Most Important Condition for Strengthening the Unity of the Soviet Multinational State"]

[Text] First of all, I would like to emphasize that the opportunity to hold the given scientific-practical conference is a result of the processes of democratization and glasnost which are developing in the nation and this is a new spirit of the April (1985) turning point directed at the revolutionary renewal of our society.

Our conference has a good mission. We are not resolving conflicts but are rather strengthening the bridges of friendship on the principles of perestroika and we are seeking the harmonization of interethnic relations. We are restoring Lenin's approaches to the questions of the friendship of peoples. We are restoring and developing the traditions of friendship and mutual aid founded and reinforced by our fathers and grandfathers. The friendship of Toktagul with Dzhambul, Gafur Gulyam with Mirzo Tusun-zade and Sabir Mukhanov was touching.

We note with pride the basic reality that over the 70 years of the existence of Soviet power, the nation has been turned from a backward agrarian power into a mighty industrial one. We affirm and reaffirm that the socialist choice of the Soviet people is final and irrevocable. There are weighty successes in the development of all the national borderlands of the Soviet nation.

The peoples inhabiting Karakalpakia live amicably, they have produced a common language and a common culture and have developed common interests.

Life affirms the correctness of the Leninist principle that interethnic relations cannot be stagnant. In actuality, in various times the Karakalpak ASSR was part of the RSFSR and Kazakhstan. It is now part of the Uzbek SSR. We consider such a solution most effective for, beginning with the single Amudarya River, the many conditions of life and historical facts confirm the correctness of this choice.

It would be possible to enumerate what has been achieved but at present we know that, in realizing our interests, one must take a more active part in the common work of renewing socialism.

It must be frankly admitted that Karakalpakia in terms of its development level lags greatly behind the other regions of the nation and even behind the average development level of Uzbekistan. While for the nation as a whole major differences persist between city and countryside, here the cities and villages differ little. The cities have virtually no sewage system, treatment plants,

and urban conditions for servicing the population have been established far from everywhere. Hence, the problems of the city and countryside must be resolved in parallel.

I do not intend to dramatize events, but to all the former failings, shortcomings and difficulties we must still add, as a shameful monument to the period of stagnation, the problem of the drying up of the Aral Sea. It is strange but a fact that the development of cotton raising was not accompanied not only by the appropriate ecological measures but the leaders of those times violated the very elementary laws for the engineer improvement of the lands and their reclamation. Effluent waters remained on the land. They should have been discharged into the sea through large collectors. Alas, this was not done. In some places giant lakes were formed such as Arnasay and Sarykamys, Ascha-kul, Ayazkalinskoye, Kokchekul and others.

The main misfortune was that against the background of the deception of the state and the inflating of figures, the proper measures were not taken to improve the situation; on the contrary, the situation with every passing year deteriorated. As a whole, the "negatives" of the years of stagnation noticeably held up the socioeconomic development of Karakalpakia. It is to be deeply regretted that the industrial boom which engulfed many regions of the nation in the postwar years had little impact on Karakalpakia.

The share of persons working in the industry of the autonomous republic to the total number of persons employed in the national economy in 1985 remained on the same level as 1960 and was just 9.9 percent. And this happened over the given period when the share of industrial personnel for the nation more than doubled. Such flaws in planning must now be decisively rectified. Sometimes in the reports we are criticized for the fact that in recent years we have not built a single standard maternity home. It was as if we did not want to do this. The reply is a simple one: a maternity home was not included in the plan and we got by by jerry-rigged quarters. For this reason, we assume that the council of ministers of the autonomous republic had more rights than allocations and decided what was to be built where and when.

I have endeavored to sketch in the general picture objectively. After the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, fundamental measures began to be carried out to strengthen discipline and order, to restore social justice and to increase the efficiency of social production.

At present, it is a question of raising the level of party leadership over solving the economic and social problems in the region's development. For this reason it would be wise to note the measures being taken to improve the situation.

The party obkom has twice brought up the developing difficult situation for review by the Uzbek CP Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee. Replies and decisions came immediately. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in March 1986 adopted the Decree "On Measures to Accelerate the Economic and Social Development of the Karakalpak ASSR" and in September 1988 "Measures to Fundamentally Improve the Ecological and Sanitary Situation in the Area of the Aral Sea, to Improve the Efficient Use and Strengthen Conservation of the Water and Land Resources in Its Basin." We consider these documents historic for our region.

There has been a strong step toward perestroyka. Active measures are being taken to resolve the social and economic problems. Industry has begun operating at a profit. Noticeable changes are occurring in the agroindustrial complex.

We are carrying out measures actively to convert to political methods of party leadership.

The party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms consider the unconditional fulfillment of the above-mentioned party and government decrees as their main task. Such a posing of the question presupposes not only a rise in the standard of living of the population but at the same time envisages a larger contribution by the autonomous republic to the national endeavor. We see in this the guarantee for strengthening the friendship of peoples and fostering the unity of our multinational state.

For implementing the program envisaged in the decree on the Aral, major construction associations have been set up such as Aralvodstroy [Aral Sea Water Management Construction] and Aralselkhozvodoprovodstroy [Aral Sea Agricultural Water Supply Construction]. Even this year they should use 200 million rubles of capital investments. A universal outpatient medical service for the public is being provided and major measures are being taken to improve medical services.

The first results of the perestroyka process in the economy, in social and spiritual life should not overshadow the forthcoming struggle. We are aware that we must have well-planned decisions and bold, enterprising actions. The party obkom is focusing all the communists and workers on this.

In the arising situation, of great importance is the choice of the optimum ways for the development and placement of the productive forces over the long run, considering the arising problems of a demographic, ecological and socioeconomic nature.

According to the estimates of the planning and statistical bodies, the Karakalpak population by the year 2000 will grow up to 2 million persons, or by 70 percent, and the labor resources will almost double. For ensuring full

employment of the population by the year 2010, in the economy it is essential to create an additional 350,000-400,000 new jobs, that is, as many as we have now.

Considering the limited nature of the water resources and the degree of mechanizing work, we must revise the structure of the planted areas, particularly in the northern regions, where we must switch from cotton raising with a yield of 15-20 quintals to producing feed grain and feed crops.

For sharply accelerating the growth of industrial production as the main factor in the industrialization of Karakalpakia, we must accelerate the development and exploitation of the minerals of the Sultanuizdag deposits. Exploration of the sea floor for oil and gas is being carried out slowly.

It seems to me that our geologists, the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and the Kazakh Academy of Sciences should pool their efforts. The USSR Ministry of Geology has been slow on this question in executing the appropriate decisions. The Geology Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences should obviously be the initiator here.

The growth rate of industrial production in the autonomous republic should, as a minimum, be double that of the republic and Union averages. The task is extremely complex but it is essential to solve it.

In these areas we must have concrete, day-to-day help from the Union ministries, the party, soviet and planning bodies of the republic.

In the first place, it is essential to take immediate measures to accelerate the construction, reconstruction and expansion of the industrial enterprises as envisaged in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for Karakalpakia as adopted in March 1986. They have not resolved the questions of expanding and reconstructing the Magnitskiy Plant for producing livestock raising and feed production equipment of the USSR Minavtoselkhoz mash [Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building], the projects of the USSR Gosstab, individual enterprises of the USSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee]. In having raw cotton and a spinning-textile output, we are unable to produce finished textiles and the question of building the Nukus Dyeing and Finishing Mill is still up in the air, although its start was planned in the same decree for 1989.

Secondly, the Uzbek Gosplan should restructure individual unpromising enterprises and by expansion and reconstruction place in them enterprises of the Union machine building ministries involved in producing equipment for the manufacturing industry and consumer durables.

Thirdly, we must resolve the question of locating enterprises or affiliates of labor-intensive industrial branches on the territory of the autonomous republic.

Fourthly, we must fully utilize the raw material base of the autonomous republic for establishing an ore mining and chemical industry, the production of building materials and, of course, accelerate the development rate of the manufacturing, local and light industries.

Scientific thought should play a major role in elaborating an optimum regional economic and technical policy in the autonomous republic. We must fundamentally improve the physical plant of the Karakalpak affiliate of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, convert it into a department of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and provide a technical and economic focus for its work.

At present, we greatly need an influx of technical and creative intelligentsia. We request that the VUZes of all the fraternal Union republics represented here provide us with aid.

The poor training of school graduates in the Russian language has been a certain obstacle on the path of training highly skilled specialists for the autonomous republic economy.

We are firm supporters of the position that the Russian language, the language of communication between the nationalities is essential for us as the basic means of improving the level of interethnic relations. We need personnel who will help in mastering Russian. As soon as possible we must open up a pedagogical institute which will solve all the problems of teaching Russian, Uzbek, Kazakh and Turkmen languages.

At present, preparations are underway everywhere for the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which will adopt a full-scale program of actions for the next few years for improving and reconciling interethnic relations. Preparatory work is being carried out also in the autonomous republic.

The questions of interethnic relations in the autonomous republic require close attention. There is a number of questions which must be resolved by ourselves without waiting for the Central Committee plenum and there are those which require profound analysis and preparation. There are also questions the solution to which depends upon the superior organizations. The appropriate proposals from the party obkom to improve interethnic relations have been forwarded to the Uzbek CP Central Committee and we will soon submit them to the CPSU Central Committee.

The questions raised encompass not only socioeconomic development but also touch upon the national-state structure, the location of the productive forces, the development of production relations and the growing independence of the autonomous republics.

In these proposals there are points aimed at establishing closer ties of collaboration between the republics participating in the current conference. These are related primarily to the nationality and cultural needs of the Turkmen, Kazakhs, Koreans, Tatars and other nationalities living in Karakalpakia.

Particularly indispensable for us is close cultural exchange with Kazakhstan and Turkmenia. We lack textbooks as well as school teachers who can teach in Turkmen and Kazakh languages. In this we could be aided by the Tashauz and Ashkhabad Pedagogical Institutes, the appropriate VUZes and publishing houses of Alma-Ata and Ashkhabad, having provided the required teaching and procedural literature considering the particular features of their use in the Karakalpak ASSR.

Because of the difficult ecological situation and the high level of morbidity, each year we need up to 500 pediatricians and our own VUZ graduates are clearly insufficient. In turn, through training tours or upon Komsomol assignment we could send the youth and graduates of our technical schools to work in neighboring oblasts and republics.

Thought must also be given to improving or organizing transport ties (air, rail and road) between Nukus and the capitals of the Union republics, the other cities and population points.

The Appeal of the CPSU Central "To the Party and to the Soviet People" has put forward the principle: a strong union is a strong center and strong republics. Clearly, we will become strong republics if we will generously share the achievements and acquired experience in improving the level of interethnic relations.

In recent years, a new step has been taken in strengthening the socioeconomic and cultural ties with our neighbors. We have begun to regularly hold international meetings for the workers of Karakalpakia, Khorezm Oblast of Uzbekistan and Tashauz Oblast in Turkmenistan. Their best economic units are competing. The basic principle here is share the achievements. The competition, mutual aid and professional ties strengthen the bridges of friendship and unity. We focus the party leadership on similar and other measures in selecting the factors to strengthen the friendship of peoples.

All the good traditions and new principles of friendly ties, we are profoundly convinced, must be strengthened and developed in every possible way, for the friendship and collaboration of peoples, solidarity, internationalism and unity are great socialist achievements and are our common concern and common goal.

May I suggest that the central committees of the Union republic communist parties participating in the given scientific practical conference on a planned basis provide a stable exchange of delegations in order to disseminate experience in raising the level of interethnic ties and in carrying out the demands of the radical economic reform and the cardinal reform of the political system.

Historian on Regional Development

18300465 *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian*
1 Mar 89 p 3

[Speech by Doctor of Historical Sciences L.U. Yusupov, head science associate at the History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Particular Features in the Development of Nationality Relations in Regions Which Have Moved From Feudalism to Socialism in Skipping the Capitalist Stage"]

[Text] In order to more realistically perceive the particular features in the development of nationality relations in regions which have moved from feudalism to socialism in skipping the capitalist stage of development, it is essential to designate these regions and briefly describe them in the pre-October period. In such regions we must put Central Asia, a number of areas of Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus, the Volga region, Siberia and the Far East, where resided tens of millions of people who belonged to the most diverse nations and nationality groups. Here they were in various stages of development and this can be seen, for instance, in comparing the way of life of the peoples of the Far North and the Volga, the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia. Even within the precapitalist formation in these nations and nationality groups the development was extremely diverse: from a kinship communal system among a number of nationality groups in the Far North to clearly expressed feudal systems which included capitalist relations in Central Asia and the Volga. On the other hand, the Russian Empire with its economically developed regions was growing into a world system, based on capitalist relations. And hence, the focus of the unresolved political, socioclass, economic contradictions. The entry of Russia in the 19th Century into the capitalist path of development was expressed only in the economically developed regions, while a majority of the nationality borderlands, in being in an extremely difficult situation, were little or almost completely untouched by capitalist relations.

How was this difficult situation specifically reflected? Let us examine just one region, the Central Asian. On the political level, the peoples populating the Turkestan Kray, the Bukhara Emirate, the Khiva Khanate, were without rights and deprived of state independent formations organized along nationality lines. The lack of political rights in the masses engendered a social apathy and led to the impoverishment of the peoples with the economic policy of the tsarist government contributing to this.

Here is a brief description of the Central Asian region at the beginning of the 20th Century. On almost 3 million km² of the Central Asian region, there lived a little more than 10 million persons who were extremely diverse in social composition, with a predominantly peasant population comprising 88.97 percent. In prerevolutionary Uzbekistan within its present-day frontiers, out of the total number of the population of 4,366,000 persons, workers and employees made up 5 percent, peasants

were 74.6 percent, the urban bourgeoisie was 6 percent, the rural bourgeoisie was 13 percent and the remaining social groups 1.4 percent. There was approximately the same socioclass situation in the other areas of the region. Extreme social polarization was observed in the rural localities. On the territory of present-day Kirghizia before October, approximately 65 percent of the peasant households were poor farms, around 2 percent were middle peasants and 10-15 percent were bey [rich peasant] farms.

The share of agriculture in the gross economic product of Turkestan Kray in 1913 was 88 percent, including 40 percent cotton. Its gross harvest was just 521,500 tons.

The economic backwardness of the region was closely intertwined with cultural backwardness. On the eve of the revolution in Central Asia, there was not a single scientific or higher educational institution. In 1910, here there were 9,832 schools, basically of a religious sort, with 217,000 students; this represented 27.6 students per thousand inhabitants. On the territory of modern Uzbekistan in the 1914-1915 academic year, the general education schools covered 2-3 percent of the young school-age Uzbek boys. Girls did not go to school at all. There were around 500 students in all the technical schools. Literacy among the Turkmen was 0.7 percent. In the former Transcaspian Oblast, there were 56 schools. Literacy among the Tajiks was 2.3 percent, the number of students was 369 and the number of teachers 13. On the territory of modern Kirghizia, there were 216 teachers but not a single Kirghiz teacher.

Medical services for the public were practically absent in the region. In 1913, within the modern boundaries of Kirghizia, there were 6 hospitals with 100 beds, while in Uzbekistan the overall mortality rate was 35-39 percent.

This in general terms was the political, economic, social and cultural situation in Central Asia on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution. However, this gloomy reality pales in comparison with the state of affairs among the small nationality groups in the northern part of Russia and which were on the brink of physical extinction and mental degradation. That this was actually the case is confirmed by the fact that the government of the Russian Empire did not have a single program for rescuing the small borderland peoples from extinction, just as there was no effective program for maintaining interethnic peace in the empire where, with the deeply-rooted policy of "divide and rule," relations between the nations were also negatively influenced by their economic and cultural position in society as a whole.

The October Revolution brought about a fundamental change in the state of affairs. Within the overall group of tasks confronting Soviet power in destroying capitalist

relations in the nation, the task was also solved of leading many of the backward peoples, both large and small, to the socialist path, in skipping the capitalist stage of development.

In the course of the revolutionary changes in the Soviet East for example, along this path it was essential, along with such common difficulties in the nation as the rabid resistance of the bourgeoisie, the Civil War, the foreign military intervention, the hunger and chaos, to also overcome the specific difficulties for Central Asia which consisted in the following.

The presence of deeply-rooted feudal and patriarchal relations in political life. It was possible to eliminate these only by arousing "in the masses a desire for independent political thinking and independent political activity....";

The one-sided development of the handicraft and artisan industry basically oriented at the processing of agricultural products, the presence of patriarchal and feudal ways in the economy along with the bourgeois production relations which had appeared in a slightly developed form, the medieval nature of the forms of land tenure, and the strong influence of the bey exploiting upper clique on the economic life of the Central Asian villages;

The absence of a nationality working class, when the main productive mass was the peasantry burdened down with the medieval dogmas of the Moslem religion. This is particularly apparent in the Appeal to Bukhara and Khiva and in terms of which one can completely apply the thesis of V.I. Lenin that without a number of transitions or transitional stages in a backward nation it is impossible to make a peasant revolution into a socialist one;

The extreme backwardness in cultural terms when literacy was lacking among a number of peoples in the region;

The long isolation of Central Asia from Central Russia (1918-1920) due to the conditions of the Civil War;

In the fight against the Basmacks which lasted right up until the beginning of the 1930s.

The main direction in solving such an important question as the transition of the previously backward countries to socialism, in bypassing, was a desire first of all to resolve the question of the nationality state system and on this basis to construct the economy and carry out changes in the sociocultural area. It was very difficult to carry out this triune task in the backward regions of the former Russian Empire. And no matter how we are now revising our view of the distance covered and however we may criticize it, it is perfectly obvious that the socialist path of development in the formerly backward

peoples has led to a qualitatively new stage in their development and has created all conditions for dynamic political, economic and spiritual advance.

A new and previously unforeseen feature was that all the nations and nationality groups inhabiting the former borderlands of the Russian Empire have gradually joined together in a union of a unified multinational state. The Union and nationality statehood has not remained unchanged. It has developed in adapting to new conditions of the nation's socioeconomic life and reflecting the new traits and factors in the progress of the nations and nationality groups and, as a whole, the nationality relations. The nations and nationality groups who have founded their statehood on socialist principles on the basis of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," did not wish to return to their "separate apartments" but rather more and more united, worked for unification. The circumstance that as they were formed the Union republics voluntarily joined the USSR is proof of the triumph of Lenin's nationality policy. This is an indisputable fact. But by itself, it still does not disclose the particular features in the development of nationality relations in the regions which have moved from feudalism to socialism in bypassing the capitalist stage, just as it does not cancel out the errors which were made in the course of the nationality-state construction. And these errors are still making themselves felt.

The view of V.I. Lenin that the progressive development of backward peoples is possible outside of capitalism is generally known. During the period of the intensive movement for a nationality-state demarcation, during the years when Vladimir Ilich was severely ill and later, when he had passed away, Stalin and those around him clearly endeavored to confine to the archives another, equally important thesis of V.I. Lenin on the need always to consider the nationality uniquenesses in setting up the multinational socialist state and in no instance should this task be carried out in relying solely on the experience of the most developed regions. "It is essential to live through many unique things," wrote V.I. Lenin, "but in no instance should we tie ourselves down to a standard routine and we must never allow that our experience, the experience of Central Russia, can be applied completely to all the borderlands." At the same time, in practice this advice by V.I. Lenin in certain instances was ignored as can be seen clearly from the experience of the nationality-state demarcation in Central Asia.

Who and what has prevented us from establishing a nationality state for each, even the smallest people with all the attributes of state power. It was the established stereotypes of thought and a reticence to consider the expression of will of these peoples. Why, having formed the autonomous areas over 50-60 years ago, we gave no thought to the fact that many of them had grown up and could completely be Union state formations as part of the USSR? This would contribute to the growth of nationality self-awareness in the nations and nationality

groups as well as raise their political and labor activity. It would also contribute to instilling pride for the multinational socialist fatherland. This would also be aided by establishing permanent agencies of the governments of the autonomous republics under the governments of the Union republics by analogy with the currently existing agencies of the Union republics under the USSR government. It is not the question of a mechanical redrawing of the existing frontiers within the USSR. There is no need for this for the frontiers running within the nation are of greater symbolic nature. It is rather a question of something else, of bringing into accord the nationality regions with the settlement of the nations and nationality groups in them.

Regardless of the errors, distortions and so forth which did occur, as a whole, one must not discard the efforts of the workers and their inestimable contribution to industrialization and collectivization in the nation and in the areas the population of which was building the foundations of socialism, having bypassed the capitalist stage of development. The result of the unstinting labor of the Central Asian peoples was the fact that at the beginning of 1926, a gradual revival of industry began in the region and this made it possible to begin carrying out the tasks of industrialization. In passing through several stages of a land and water reform, the rural workers entered the phase of collectivization.

The 27th CPSU Congress drew the appropriate conclusions and adopted intense but scientifically sound Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period to the Year 2000. In accord with these, enormous work will continue to be done in the Soviet East to improve the economy. In Uzbekistan they will increase the output of industrial products by 24-27 percent and the average annual volume of gross agricultural product will rise by 14-16 percent. In Kirghizia, the production of industrial product will rise by 21-24 percent and the average annual volume of gross agricultural product by 13-15 percent. In Tajikistan, they will increase the production of industrial product by 23-26 percent and the average annual volume of gross agricultural product will rise by 12-14 percent. In Turkmenia, the output of industrial product will increase by 20-23 percent and the average annual volume of gross agricultural product by 12-14 percent.

These figures show primarily that the efforts of the Central Asian peoples, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, during the years of industrialization and collectivization were not in vain. They show that the opportunities of each republic could be embodied in reality only due to the joint efforts of all the republics of the nation. Finally, they show that our strength has always been, is and will be only in unity.

The historical experience of the transition of the formerly backward peoples to socialism in bypassing capitalism confirms:

The noncapitalist path of development for peoples, regardless of the existing specific conditions and difficulties, began with the victory of Great October (for the peoples of Bukhara and Khiva, from 1920). In their advance to socialism, these peoples had to go through a reconstruction period like all the peoples of the Soviet Union;

The correctness of Lenin's immortal teachings about the paths of building socialism. "The inspired successor of the cause of Marx and Engels, Vladimir Ilich Lenin," stated the CPSU Program, "under new historical conditions thoroughly developed their teachings, he provided answers to the fundamental questions of modern times and armed the worker movement with a theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction";

The CPSU is the higher form of a political organization for the multinational Soviet people and is their guiding and directing force;

The possibility of the transition of the peoples in the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries to the principles of socialism, in bypassing capitalism. Thus, the experience of socialist construction in the USSR and the transition of the previously backward peoples of Russia to socialism, in bypassing capitalism, is of great international significance;

The unique experience of the transition of previously backward peoples to socialism, in bypassing the capitalist stage of development, shows the enormous advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist one, and clearly repudiates the fabrications of the bourgeois falsifiers who endeavor to play down the successes achieved by the one-time backward peoples, like the successes of the entire Soviet society.

At the same time, the historical experience of the transition of the formerly backward peoples from feudalism to socialism shows that along this untrod path we have made miscalculations, errors and distortions. The cult of personality of Stalin did particular harm to all that was involved with socialist construction in the USSR and this could not help but tell on nationality relations. The periods of the passing of voluntaristic decisions and profound stagnation also played a negative role in these relations.

At present, when society is ridding itself of the pernicious vestiges of the past, under conditions when due to a whole series of factors, including those mentioned above, nationality relations have become exacerbated in individual regions of the nation, society is confronted with the immediate task of improving these relations.

Local Level Recommendations

18300465 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
1 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by S.B. Bakhapova, secretary of the Kirghiz CP Osh Obkom: "Nationality Aspects of Implementing Cadre Policy at the Present Stage of Society's Development"]

[Text] Perestroika and the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society mean a radical transformation in all spheres of social life, including interethnic relations.

The qualitative improvement in nationality relations requires the forming, establishment and creative development of new political thinking on the nationality question, proceeding from which a new, consistently internationalist practice of socialist interethnic relations should be founded. But the new thinking should not come down merely to the simple reproduction of Lenin's views on the nationality question but rather to a creative, truly innovative application of them to the qualitatively new conditions and to carrying out the tasks of the modern stage of development.

An analysis of both the positive and negative processes more and more convinces us that the state of interethnic relations in one or another region is in a direct and constantly intensifying relationship with the carrying out of the strategic tasks of perestroika. All of this requires constant and growing attention, new and flexible approaches by the party, soviet bodies, the social organizations and labor collectives.

The questions of improving interethnic relations are particularly pertinent both for all and for the party organizations of our oblast in which there are the representatives of more than 80 nations and nationalities. As of 1 January 1989, in the oblast, of the almost 2 million population, Kirghiz made up almost 56 percent, Uzbeks 26 and Russians 9 percent. Also living among us are Tajiks, Kazakhs, Tatars, Uigurs, Germans, Azerbaijanis, Koreans, Kurds, Dungans and representatives of other nationalities. They all have the same rights. The membership of the oblast party organization is also multinational. While during the year of its founding it was comprised of representatives of 13 nationalities, in 1988, it brought together in its ranks representatives of 56 nations and nationalities.

All of this requires a profound, balanced approach in carrying out cadre policy. Effective work has been carried out and is being carried out so that all the nationalities are properly represented in the various units of the party and soviet bodies. Of course, it is not a question of a mechanical allocating of places and positions by nationality. This would mean, as was pointed out at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a vulgarization of the very idea of internationalism. No, here the main criterion for assessing a worker is his

political, professional and moral qualities. This is particularly apparent at the present stage under the conditions of the developing processes of democratization and glasnost. It must be recognized that previously, in forming one or another elective body, they planned ahead of time what representatives and of what nationality must be elected and, as you all know, this is how it was done. But the recently concluded report-election campaign in the party organizations, when there was no tampering, showed that the desire to fix everything ahead of time was extremely wrong. Although initially many were concerned whether the indigenous or another nationality would prevail. Practice showed that the best of the best were elected to the elective bodies and practically representatives of all nations and nationalities. At present, the nomenklatura of the party obkom includes representatives of 23 nationalities and the party gorkoms and raykoms 39.

The composition of the secretaries of the primary and shop party organizations is multinational: among them, respectively, are the representatives of 24 and 19 nationalities. Representatives of 36 nations and nationalities living in the oblast have been elected to the deputy corps. Today's very reality, the life and existence of people in the multinational collectives create real conditions for discovering true leaders who are dedicated to the cause of perestroika. To a large degree this has been aided by the current comprehensive program in effect for 2 years now for working with the leading cadres and their reserve in the oblast party organization. This in a concentrated form reflects the priority areas in cadre work—the main element in improving interethnic relations. In its sections we have defined specific measures, forms and methods of activity for the party committees to ensure a further improvement in the qualitative composition of the leading cadres and the reserve and for improving the entire question of the recruitment, placement and training of them. One of the main points of the program is a systematic analysis of the qualitative composition of the cadres, the ascertaining of trends in the change and determining of the main directions considering the need of rejuvenation, broadening the representation of various social strata, and achieving conformity to the nationality make-up of the population. In the oblast, as a result of the effective work done by the party bodies and the great responsibility shown by the labor collectives themselves, an entire galaxy of remarkable leaders has grown up from among the representatives of the various nations and nationalities. It is particularly noteworthy that the leaders who are authentic internationalists possess merited authority among the oblast aktiv; they lead labor collectives where an absolute majority of its members is made up of persons of indigenous nationality. In a number of rayons of the oblast, as in Aravanskiy and others, over the last 2 years, the electing of all the subdivision leaders, including the rayon level, was carried out solely on a democratic basis from two and more candidates under the conditions of extensive glasnost. It is no accident that here the state of affairs in all the branches of the economy is good.

An absolute majority of our labor collectives is multinational. In line with this a stereotype has come into being and frequently operates as before when the property of internationality was ascribed to multinationality. It becomes such only as a result of painstaking educational work.

Perestroyka is an international undertaking. It cannot be carried out in one republic or separate region. Here it is essential to have a unity of efforts and the greater the contribution made by each oblast and republic to solving the common tasks, the faster success will be achieved. This increases the feeling of dignity and pride on the part of both the indigenous nationality and the representatives of the other nations and nationalities living in the republic and oblast. Thus, last year, the oblast agroindustrial complex [APK] was among the few to convert to full cost accounting and self-financing. On the basis of the oblast farms, a regional conference was conducted for the Central Asian republics. Incidentally, this contributed to a broader exchange of existing experience. For virtually a year the oblast has been visited by representatives from a majority of the rayons and specific farms of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia. This, in turn, has helped to strengthen friendship and good neighborliness. As a whole for the results of last year, the oblast APK has done well.

The profit of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses for all types of activity during the year was over 144 million rubles and this was 39 million rubles more than in 1987. Profitability of agricultural production rose from 16.7 to 23 percent.

In being aware that the best manifestation of internationalism is an undertaking for the common good of the entire nation, the labor collectives in the oblast have begun to pay more attention to the discipline of contractual deliveries. In 1988, 99.7 percent of the orders from the Union republics were fulfilled and only two enterprises failed to meet this indicator. All these examples show the increased responsibility of our personnel for the assigned area of work.

The question of the forming of nationality detachments of the working class is a matter of constant concern for the party, soviet bodies, the trade union and Komsomol organizations and the economic leaders. We at present are making a major effort so that in industrial production there is a worker contingent that is viable and sound both in its number and advanced traditions within the social structure of the labor collective. This is achieved by sending the youth of the indigenous nationality for study in the vocational-technical schools of the oblast, the republic, the cities of the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia. Each year, more than 28,000 young persons representing 21 nations and nationalities master worker professions. With each passing year, there are more and more persons not only of Russian or Ukrainian nationalities but also others such as Uzbeks, Uigurs, Kurds, Dungans and Azerbaijanians who take their places by the

machine tools and control panels of the machines and mechanisms. The efficient utilization of labor resources is an important reserve for improving the nationality and interethnic relations and for accelerating the socioeconomic development of the oblast. There is migration into other regions of the nation, and predominantly from among the indigenous nationality. There is also migration within the oblast. But as a whole, it must be pointed out that such migration does not always produce positive results. For this reason the main emphasis is being put on enlarging the existing enterprises and building new ones, opening up all sorts of affiliates, shops and subsidiary production and trades and the bringing of them as close as possible to the labor-surplus regions.

The consolidating of interethnic ties to a large degree is being aided by the involvement of the oblast labor collectives in building major economic projects and by the actual transfer of existing experience gained in the APK in producing agricultural products to other regions of the nation. Thus, we have completed the construction and outfitting of the Kirgizstan Sovkhoz in Rostovskiy Rayon of Yaroslavl Oblast and at present we are providing practical aid in the growing of vegetables. In Orel Oblast, a multinational collective from the Order of Friendship of Peoples Motor Road Directorate Pamirskiy Trakt [Pamir Highway] is building roads.

The first steps have been taken in setting up leasehold collectives to raise potatoes and feed crops in Ryazan, Tambov and Kalinin Oblasts of the Russian Nonchernozem Zone.

Life affirms that authentic internationalism and true friendship of peoples are possible only under the condition of profound mutual respect for the dignity, honor, culture, language and history of each nation and nationality. Considering this we are working to widely achieve the principle of bilingualism in the oblast.

We are endeavoring to view all the problems of nationality languages, not locally, not on the autonomous republic level, but rather in a complex nexus of social relations. In this, it seems to us, it is essential in a patient and effective manner to cultivate nationality self-awareness. In instilling an interest and respect for the mother tongue and Russian, we also instill a feeling of pride and respect for our single socialist motherland, as well as friendship and fraternity between the representatives of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

In the oblast the educating of children is carried out in Kirghiz, Russian, Uzbek, Tajik and Kurdish languages. In 132 schools there is a mixed language of instruction. Experience shows that in schools where instruction is provided in several languages, there are greater opportunities for international education, for personal contact and for participating in social and extracurricular work. But at the same time, we cannot say that everything is

going smoothly here. There are many problems which we should resolve ourselves but for now have not while for solving individual ones help is required from the superior bodies.

In the international and patriotic education of the oblast workers, an important place is assigned to the cultural institutions and creative unions.

The oblast has good conditions for the interpenetration and interaction of the nationality cultures. The oblast center has Kirghiz dramatic and Uzbek musical-dramatic theaters, a philharmonic theater with Kirghiz and Uzbek folklore groups and these are all permanent artistic collectives. Over 20 nations and nationalities demonstrate their art in the mother tongue. Presently, known within the oblast as well as far beyond it are the popular and folklore ensembles such as Yuzhanka from the town of Mayli-Say, the Dungan Dance Collective from the Kolkhoz imeni Tashirov and the Uigur Song and Dance Ensemble from the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx in Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, the Greek Ensemble from the Karavan House of Culture in Naukatskiy Rayon and the Azerbaijan Song and Dance Ensemble from Aravanskiy Rayon.

Very popular are the Kurdish, Turkish and gypsy folklore ensembles from the towns of Kok-Yangak and Dzhalal-Abad and Naukatskiy Rayon. It has already become quite accepted when at one concert songs are sung in Kirghiz, Russian, Uzbek, Tajik, Kurdish, German, Uigur and Dungan languages.

The editors of the oblast and rayon newspapers and the oblast radio and television committee are working effectively to take up the activities of the party and soviet bodies and the social organizations on the questions of improving international ties with the oblasts of the fraternal republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Particularly strong ties on a long-term basis have been established with Andizhan Oblast. Over a period of many years, fruitful collaboration has been maintained between the competing towns and rayons as well as rival labor collectives. Ties have risen to a new level with the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast of Tajikistan, and relations are improving with Batkenskiy and Lyaylyakskiy Rayons, the town of Sulyukta with the rayons and labor collectives of Leninabad Oblast. All of this helps to further develop interethnic relations.

In a word, all that concerns a solution to the questions of interethnic relations requires a creative approach on the part of all of those who are concerned with these questions as well as a serious analysis of all the positive experience and the effective employment of it under the new conditions. The work of the oblast party organization is aimed precisely at this. In conclusion, several problem questions:

1. Satisfying the needs of the small nationalities in the area of national culture. The publishing and increasing the run of books and newspapers in their mother tongue, particularly in Kurdish, Crimean-Tatar, the Turko-Meskhedin and others. For these purposes on a regional scale we must coordinate our efforts and assign the publishing of the various specific newspapers and magazines to the various republics.

For these purposes we must accelerate the process of the interchange of achievements in spiritual culture between the republics of the region. For instance, in the area of literature and art, bearing in mind the simultaneous translation into one or another language without waiting for them to be translated into Russian. For these purposes we must examine the question of setting up a special interrepublic and if possible an all-union publishing house for the direct translation of literature from one language into another. This would accelerate the interethnic exchange of achievements in spiritual culture. In the regions provision should be made for libraries and library holdings where it would be possible to set up libraries on the spot considering the number of residing representatives of one or another nation.

2. The training of personnel for the small nationalities and the organizing of a special interrepublic institution of learning for these purposes.

An interrepublic exchange in personnel and their retraining, since each republic is unable to resolve these questions independently. We, for example, are encountering difficulties in providing teachers for the schools providing instruction in Russian, Uzbek, Tajik and Kurdish languages as well as providing cultural institutions with specialists.

3. We receive numerous letters from the Kirghiz population living in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan with a request to satisfy their needs for books and films in the mother tongue, for sending out artists, for providing aid in opening schools in the native tongue of instruction and so forth. However, we are unable to resolve a portion of these on the oblast level and even on the republic level; coordination on an interrepublic level is required.

4. The conversion to cost accounting of the committees for television and radio broadcasting in the Kirghiz and Uzbek Union republics has told unfavorably upon the development of interethnic relations.

Over 400,000 of Uzbek origin live in the oblast, and of these one-half resides at the oblast center and in the rayons adjacent to it and in the town of Andizhan with a distance of less than 50 km between them. Until recently, the Uzbek population of our oblast, when it so desired, could view TV broadcasts in Kirghiz, Uzbek and Russian languages. But because of the still unresolved financial questions between the two television and radio committees, our Uzbek population is basically deprived

of the opportunity to view TV broadcasts from Tashkent. For this reason, it is essential to strengthen the interrepublic coordination in resolving these questions.

Problems of Northern Ethnic Groups Surveyed

18000849 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondents O. Borodin and L. Shinkarev: "Give the Word to the Yukagir: Problems of the Peoples of the North Discussed in Yakutsk"]

[Text] At sunrise, a team dashes across the Irkutsk snow and a man, in a cap pulled down to his frost-covered brow and a fur coat down to his boots, turns his face from the piled-up snow and, with a happy shout, urges on his lively reindeer... In the public imagination, this traditional picture has long since come to symbolize the carefree life of the northern peoples. And few guess how the poor reindeer driver, having reached his skin-covered tent, lights a kerosine lamp or candle and then sets out on skis to gather brushwood. He skis to avoid the steel barrels that have been discarded on the tundra, the dirty pools of oil, and the mountains of rubbish left by the drillers. And he draws his head into his shoulders when, from behind a cloud, he is attacked by the roar of an airplane flying by, a sign of a far-away life that is unknown to him.

Industry is moving deep into the Arctic, not slowing to pay attention to the sections of the tundra that are being torn up by the caterpillar treads on the cross-country vehicles, that have been turned into swamps from which the reindeer flee. The departments are giving no consideration to the indigenous inhabitants of these places, with their small communities (some up to 800 persons) lost in the vastness between the Kola Peninsula and the Pacific Ocean. They are not asking their agreement to the grandiose transformations of their native land; they are deciding for them how they will live, how they will be employed, what they need to be happy. For a long time, the prohibition that existed against publications about the catastrophic ecological situation in the tundra, about the degradation of the traditional economy of these 26 small nationalities, totalling more than 180,000 persons, held the public in ignorance concerning the true scale of their calamity.

Because of the departmental onslaught in the North, the area of reindeer pasture land has declined from year to year. During the past decade it has diminished to 11 million hectares. The stock of reindeer, which for many nationalities remain almost the only guarantee of survival, has been greatly thinned out. In the rivers and coastal sea waters the fish are disappearing, giving ground to the every increasing oil pollution. How is the northerner to live? What is there for him to do, feeling that he is a complete person when he tends reindeer, catches fish, hunts in the tundra, that he knows how to do all this, having inherited the traditions of preceding generations? Nobody has the right to forcibly impose

urban ways of life upon him for the sole reason that these ways suit those who are taking upon themselves the responsibility of deciding the fate of the small nationalities.

Today, for the first time, public opinion has raised a voice in defense of the right of all peoples, including the northlanders, to participate in the development of decisions which will determine their own destinies. At a scientific-practical conference, conducted in Yakutsk by the All-Union Home of Political Education under the CPSU Central Committee and the Yakutskaya Oblast party committee, many of the inhabitants of the North with whom we spoke insisted on raising the status of autonomous formations, including the autonomous okrugs. At times, their actual situation within the system of local organs of power is reduced to the level of a rural rayon soviet. This is at the same time that the population of some okrugs comes to more than a million persons and that, in terms of economic potential, they could compete with some oblasts, and sometimes even a republic. Preparing for the forthcoming Central Committee plenum on inter-ethnic relationships, the northerners are insisting on improvements in the nationality-state organization, confident that this would contribute to their better legal protection and would guarantee them the possibility of formulating their own development on the basis of their own value orientations within the framework of constitutional norms.

"What kind of possibilities does the okrug have if the departments, acting in Evenkii, polluting nature, refuse to include payment for land, mineral resources, or water in the local budget. And we have no legal mechanism for extracting funds. Only the aviation enterprise [aviapredpriyatiye] for the first time this year assigned 30,000 rubles to the okrug's treasury for the utilization of labor resources. But we would prefer to depend upon the law and not upon good will," we were told by a participant in the conference, A. Salatkina, the secretary of the Evenkiy Okrug party committee (Krasnoyarskiy Kray).

The proposal, heard with increasing frequency, that the status of national rayons, which existed in the 1920's and 1930's, be established in places that do not have okrugs, and that a statute concerning them be discussed on a broad democratic basis, would seem to be a well-conceived one. This would stimulate the political activity of the northern nationalities that up until now have not had national-state formations. In the Yakutskaya ASSR, the Karelskaya ASSR, and Leningradskaya Oblast they are already studying the possibility of establishing the first such rayons, taking into consideration the desires of the northerners and based on the recommendations of scholars. Of course, the question is a delicate one which unavoidably touches upon the mutual relationships of the indigenous inhabitants of the region and the newer arrivals. And nevertheless, with a weighed approach, solutions to complex problems can be found that meet the interests of the entire population, including the ethnic minorities.

We are talking, of course, about all the peoples of the North but are placing emphasis on the small nationalities, whose standard of living remains lower than the newly arrived population and cannot be compared with what we see for other peoples and nations in the USSR. In the course of six decades, while carrying out the policy of converting the northern peoples to a settled way of life, which was proclaimed at the end of the 1920's, we have looked upon the nomad encampments as a temporary means of existence which is living out its final days. Cannot not, indeed, a modern person prefer the fate of an eternal rolling-stone to the possibility of establishing himself in a village with a settled way of life, in any case more of one than in the nomad camps. Meanwhile, in our day, 15,000 northerners continue to wander year round without a roof over their heads anywhere. And it is not just a matter of there not being enough living space in ethnic villages (where this comes to three square meters per person), but frequently there are no conveniences and the windows are not covered with glass, but with skins that are transparent in the sun. For the northerner, an end to his nomadic life would mean the destruction of a traditional complex and, with it, the loss of ethnic distinctiveness, of cultural heritage.

How tenacious of life the small nationalities must be in order to withstand the massive onslaught of the departments that are penetrating into the tundra with their enormously powerful technical army, to the clanking of caterpillar tracks, seizing its wealth with the intent of providing the country with oil, gas, lumber... For them, this natural complex is not the element where they and their children will live forever, but the god-forsaken foreign tundra with its impassible swampy bog forests in which their pipe-laying equipment gets stuck on the springtime. The contradictions between the concerns of the departments and the interests of the indigenous population have confronted the aborigines with serious moral tests. In some places spontaneous opposition is appearing to departmental tyranny.

There are contradictions of an opposite kind: some young northerners, having received an education and, with it, new interests, do not want to return to the tundra. They are not attracted to herding reindeer alongside their fathers, to immersing themselves in a difficult life they have half forgotten. They prefer to lounge about in the villages with their illusory "city life." Scholars are convinced that, by encouraging the northerners to take an role in life, by drawing them into an equal dialogue, it is possible to come to a wise combination of the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and the state. When people cease to be silent implementors of the will of others and recognize themselves as partners, social goals will occupy them to a greater extent than now. The Yakutskaya Oblast party committee and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are seeking ways to resolve the contradictions, while working out a conceptual basis for the political, cultural, and socioeconomic development of the peoples of the North. It is planned to create legal guarantees of

the preservation of traditional ways of life, of the right to the free use of nature, to assign guaranteed priorities. It is proposed to formalize these directives in a new edition of the RSFSR Constitution.

The hope for tomorrow of the small nationalities of the North is sitting today behind the school desks of tundra schools or boarding schools, frequently in an ill-equipped, casually located, and overcrowded classroom. The tearing of children away from their parents for long years, from their native places, and their immersion in what is frequently a new language environment do not facilitate the building of character capable of standing up for the national rebirth of their ethnic groups. Most saddening is the fact that a large part of the young Evenks, Yukagirs, and other northern peoples are losing their native languages, calling Russian or in Yakutsk, for example, Yakutsk their own. According to the data of the sociologists, of 2,005 Evenks in Olenekskiy Rayon, only three consider Evenk to be their native language. For this reason, although not solely because of it, it is becoming difficult to inculcate in children a taste for national customs, trades, and culture. Children are growing up outside the element of their people. They are cut off from their former lives and are far from being assimilated in a new one. Families long separated from children, who are frequently taken away by force, are pining away.

The inhabitants of northern places do not believe that there is no alternative to separating children from nomadic families at an early age. It seems reasonable to many to assign teachers to reindeer-herding brigades, ones who are willing to travel with it, teaching the children until they reach an age of 9 or 10 years. As we were told by the chief of the ideological department of the Allaikhovskiy Rayon party committee (Yakutskaya ASSR), M. Vinokurova, in their rayon on the shores of the Indigirka, where more than 500 Evenks and Yukagirs live, they have come upon the idea of assigning the functions of teacher to 3-5 elementary school pupils to female sanitary instructors (they earlier called them tent-workers) who have completed a production-technical institute, speak the languages of the people, who travel with the brigades as cooks, laundry workers, or cleaning women and who have undergone special pedagogical training.

In the opinion of the northerners themselves, they would feel calmer if reserves (call them national parks or whatever you will) were to be created in the places where they live, which would be made available for the free development of their traditional occupations and would be protected by legal barriers from any outside economic interference. The departments would be permitted to participate in the industrial development of the territory only with the agreement of the indigenous residents, obtained by means of a referendum.

On these lands, people would be able to lead a style of life acceptable to themselves without being confused by the

technical equipment of the departments and while remaining legitimately proud of their own achievements as a part of the general cultural heritage of mankind.

Ethnographic Ties to Finnish, Other European Academies Increasing

18300525 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 8 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with V.A. Vinogradov on joint Finnish-Soviet bibliography of Uralic Studies, by K. Segura]

[Text] From the Taimyr Peninsula in the north to the southern border of Yugoslavia, there was once an expansive territory whose inhabitants spoke so-called Uralic languages. Baltic peoples and Finns, Hungarians and Karelians, as well as the Mari people and others all have closely related languages, a fact which testifies to their common ancestry.

A fundamental renewal of both foreign policy and the philosophy of international relations, a movement we call the new political thinking, is an integral part of restructuring the political and economic system of soviet society. This new philosophy has found its expression in the concept advanced by M.S. Gorbachev of "a common European home." The commonality of the historical and cultural fates of the peoples of Europe is clearly visible in Uralic Studies, a field which combines anthropology, archeology, folklore studies, literature studies, and linguistics. This field has a long tradition, one which has recently been enriched by the appearance of the first volume of a joint Soviet-Finnish bibliography of Uralic Studies.

We have asked the director of the Institute of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences, academician Vladimir Alekseyevich Vinogradov, to tell us about this massive joint project in the social sciences between the USSR and Finland. He heads the Soviet side of the project:

[Vinogradov] The idea for this project arose in October, 1986, during a meeting between the president of the Academy of Finland, E. Allardt, and the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, G. Marchuk. I was present at this meeting, where there was much discussion about the broadening scientific-technical ties between our countries and about the need to strengthen cooperation in the humanities. One of the fruits of this meeting was the project for a bibliography in Uralic Studies. It is an anniversary edition. Work on it began in 1987, an important year for both of our countries. We laid the foundation for our research, which will serve as a good example of international cooperation, on the 70th anniversary of both the Great October Revolution and Finland's independence. This effort fully answers the spirit and letter of the concluding document of the meeting in Geneva among representatives of the nations participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

I should say a word about the research value of our bibliography. Scholars beginning a new project must carefully study everything that has been published earlier in that field. Any scholarly work begins with a review of the corresponding literature, an activity which can sometimes require 30% of the time that has been set aside for the work. Many early studies have become bibliographic rarities, and several authors have simply been forgotten. Scholars today are unable to sift through all of the information piling up daily like a snow drift, so we are coming to their aid. The aim of our bibliography, our institute, and all information centers is to ease the work load on scholars, thus making them more efficient.

International cooperation makes information centers more productive. Our publications, for example, reach 60 different nations. We are entering the International Information System of Socialist Countries in the Social Sciences, which was created in 1976. We have an automated data base which may be used by scholars in socialist countries. European socialist countries can reach it through telephone connections, and nations such as Cuba or Vietnam, via satellite. Around 70 collaborative publications have been released, and each year an account of our joint activities is published.

We are also working together with capitalist countries. In 1986, on the initiative of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the council of directors of the European Coordinating Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences (the Vienna Centre) decided to begin cooperation in the area of information exchange. In June 1987 the first all-European conference was held, in which 22 nations and five international organizations took part, among them UNESCO. Cooperation in the exchange of information, which began as a result of the Helsinki meeting, has survived a period of cool relations and continues to develop today under new, more favorable conditions. Our institute is an active participant in this collaborative effort. The use of our automated data base in non-socialist countries is now being considered. Finland, Austria, Denmark, and the United States have all shown an interest.

As to the Institute of Scientific Information's technical capability, we are equipped with the most up-to-date western technology, which allows us to operate on a high international level. Unfortunately, however, these resources are clearly insufficient. But there is a workable solution to this problem. We are charging a fee to all non-academic institutions and to our western partners for the use of our services. We have an account with the Vneshekonombank [Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs], where we transfer the foreign currency we receive. Hopefully, we will soon be able to buy from abroad all of the equipment we lack.

In conclusion, I would like to once more emphasize that the collaborative work between the USSR and Finland on a bibliography of Uralic Studies, while not the first

such effort, is certainly a highly positive instance of international cooperation in information exchange and one highly valued by scholars around the world.

Vilnius Roundtable: Economic Accountability
18000740 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Apr 89 pp 1-2

[Report on TRUD roundtable discussion conducted by TRUD special correspondents G. Konchuyus and A. Pankov]

[Text] Scientists, planners, representatives of departments, and party and trade union workers from Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Tataria, and Sverdlovsk Oblast attended a TRUD roundtable in Vilnius in order to exchange ideas on the draft of the "General Principles of Restructuring the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in Union Republics on the Basis of the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing," to amend it, to present their conception of regional economic accountability, and to describe the degree to which they are prepared to make the transition to it. And now the participants take the floor.

[V. PAVLOVA, sector chief, Council for the Study of the Productive Forces, USSR Gosplan; candidate of economic sciences]: The discussion of recently drafted laws is taking place in a truly pluralistic atmosphere: in their concern for perestroika, people are expressing all manner of viewpoints. We will obviously make numerous comments about the draft of the "General Principles of Restructuring the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in Union Republics..." But I initially want to emphasize: this document is a fundamentally new and important step in expanding the rights of union republics. A considerable number of enterprises will pass into their jurisdiction. Local financial resources will be greatly increased. They themselves will be able to increase republic budget revenues. They will be given the right to create nonbudget funds by floating bonds, holding lotteries, etc. That is, the financial and economic state of a republic will now depend to a much greater degree on local initiative and enterprise than was previously the case.

[V. YANKAUSKAS, chief, Socioeconomic Department, Latvian CP Central Committee]: For several years, some of the enterprises in our republic have been working on a full economic accountability basis and this year all enterprises have been converted to full economic accountability. But what do we have from this? We can only be glad that the statistical accounting indicators are slightly better. But at the same time, we offer the population a longer list of scarce goods. We have even gone so far as to include soap on this list. This is big politics, not economics. On the other hand, regional management organs do not feel that the population's living standard depends to the slightest degree on the effectiveness of the enterprises' work. It is true, to be sure, that some collectives have amassed more money, but they have nothing to spend it on.

We therefore believe that in order to expand regional economic independence and to make the transition from administrative to economic methods, republic economic accountability must be instituted as soon as possible, especially in view of the fact that the Baltic republics have been preparing for this for a long time.

[S. UOSIS, professor, Vilnius State University]: In the central press, the authors of our conception of republic economic accountability are accused of trying to get Lithuania to secede from the USSR. This is some kind of misunderstanding. We want the USSR to be truly a union of sovereign republics. But such sovereignty is impossible without economic independence. That is, it is essential that a republic (and enterprises) not be commanded from the center by departments but that it consult and collaborate. In my view, collaboration can best be realized on the basis of commodity-monetary relations through the market rather than through the offices of central monopolistic organs.

It is also necessary to coordinate republic economic accountability with self-financing. Is it possible to speak of independence if, judging by the "General Principles," banks will not be subordinate to the republic? Credit and emission resources will also be the exclusive province of the center and will be distributed by the center.

If all of us now occasionally feel that we are willfully using administrative measures to redistribute resources between republics and enterprises, will this not continue if the unified monetary system is preserved? We therefore propose that the republic introduce its own monetary units.

The republic must put its monetary system in order so that the money would not be floating paper money, but money that is backed by goods. It is difficult for us to resolve this problem by our common efforts because we may earn our money in one part of the Union and spend it in another part. There is no economic mechanism that would compel us to maintain a balanced economy.

[L. ROMANENKO, deputy chief, Socioeconomic Department, Sverdlovsk Party Obkom]: But this is not an economic method, but simply a constraint. Why then should we make the transition to republic economic accountability? We introduce our own money and the resources remain with you.

[S. UOSIS]: No! Money will be real money only when it becomes a real equivalent.

[L. ROMANENKO]: Sverdlovsk Oblast's conception, which we developed in parallel in the process of preparing for the regional economic accountability experiment, does not differ so very much from the "General Principles." We for the most part agree with them. But we do have our own view on individual questions. Thus, paragraph 3 of section III proposes the establishment of uniform normative deductions for everyone that are to

be paid to the oblast budget from the balance sheet profits of enterprises of union-republic subordination. We disagree with this because various regions, the Urals, the Baltic, and Central Asia, for example, had different starting levels in their socioeconomic development. And the uniform norm only reinforces the existing level—we will then continue to lag.

We also believe that payments for natural and labor resources must for the most part go to the oblast budget, not the union budget.

Considering the low level of development of the social sphere in our oblast, an enterprise must contribute about 760 rubles for every worker annually and 3000 rubles for every newly hired worker. According to our calculations, one worker gives us approximately 60,000 rubles profit a year. Consequently, 3000 rubles is also profitable, both to the enterprise when it creates a new job, and to the region. We also propose instituting payments for land resources: approximately 20,000 rubles for every hectare of land condemned for industrial use and 1200 rubles a year for every hectare of industrial land. That is, our budget must for the most part stem be based on the oblast's leasing of its labor, land, water, and forest resources to the enterprise.

We also propose transferring to oblast or city jurisdiction union-republic enterprises that use more than 50 percent local raw materials or that satisfy the oblast's needs. They are for the most part enterprises in light industry, the processing industry, the agroindustrial complex, and the construction industry.

If an enterprise pays us certain sums, we must take the solution of social problems upon ourselves. In order to facilitate this, we ask that we be allowed to establish not only the state order but also a local order for up to 30 percent of the production volume. Today this is allowed up to 5 percent and this, of course, is not enough.

[F. YASYAVICHENE, chief, Economics Department, LiSSR Council of Ministers]: The formation of the republic budget must be as simple as possible. We propose accumulating all income in the republic which will settle accounts with the union budget on the basis of the established norms. Budget to budget.

[KH. VITSUR, deputy director, Scientific Research Institute and Planning, EsSSR Gosplan]: If a republic receives fewer deductions from a Union enterprise than from a local enterprise, why have the former on its territory? Therefore we also believe that a certain fixed percent should be paid from the republic national income to the Union budget.

[N. DANILOV, first deputy chairman, Nizhny Tagil Gorispolkom]: How do you coordinate the work of enterprises with the advent of regional economic accountability and the introduction of new money?

[KH. VITSUR]: Without real money, enterprises will be unable to work more effectively. We will not be able to create a work motivation system in a region where there is nothing to buy with money. The monetary system must be decentralized in the economic reform transition period. Otherwise we cannot extricate ourselves from our critical position.

[V. PAVLOVA]: 77.3 percent of our financial resources will pass into republic jurisdiction (such is the figure according to your conceptions); only 22.7 percent will be left at the disposal of your rayons and cities. Does it not seem to you that at the same time you are fighting against the power of the "center," you are becoming the most undesirable center to rayons and cities?

[KH. VITSUR]: We are not forgetting about this and propose that the republic decentralize monetary resources all the way down to the village soviet so that all local authorities would have their own purse and would be able to dispose of them in accordance with the functions that are vested in them.

[L. KRYUKOV, director, Scientific Research Economics Institute, BeSSR Gosplan; candidate of economic sciences]: It is the first, albeit not very radical step forward.

But while endorsing the draft as a whole, we make a number of qualifications. Thus, we propose that the projected transfer of enterprises to republic jurisdiction not be postponed, but that it be carried out in the current year, before work on drafting the 1990 plan begins.

It would also be desirable to transfer to the jurisdiction of the republic individual enterprises of branches that according to the draft remain within union jurisdiction. We refer to enterprises that produce consumer goods from local raw materials, e. g., enterprises that produce rubber footwear, household chemical products, and sewn-knitwear products...

In a number of instances, the "General Principles" do not differentiate with sufficient clarity the functions of union and republic organs that manage regional socioeconomic development. For example, the material-technical supply of enterprises belonging to Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] is effected through the republic, but they make their currency withholdings only through Goskomizdat, bypassing the republic in the process.

[A. MATULYAVICHUS, general director, Vilnius "Neringa" Association]: You said that the "General Principles" are not sufficiently radical. What in your opinion should be done to make the economy effective?

[L. KRYUKOV]: Given the present economic mechanism and the extremely negative phenomena—the supermonopolized structure, inflation, the imbalance,

and shortages, no matter how ideal the "General Principles" might be, they will not become a magic wand. The transition to regional self-financing must also be accompanied by other far-reaching economic reforms.

We also proceed from the premise that all our economic reforms in general and the success of all our efforts are decided not in offices but in the primary link, at the enterprises, where the initiative will be unleashed

[S. DAVLYATSHIN, head, Department of Socioeconomic and Legal Research, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Social Insurance, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (Kazan); candidate of economic sciences]: The "General Principles" propose a unified conception of republic economic accountability without regard to local conditions and the degree of readiness of various regions. It seems to me that we should make it possible to try out different variants in practice. If the Baltic republics consider it necessary to go further, I think they should be given the opportunity to do so. If their experiment produces a negative result, this will have scientific, methodological, and practical significance for other regions since they will obviously make the transition to republic economic accountability later and will take their mistakes into account. After all, virtually all economic experiments in the past were conducted without alternate variants.

We also believe that economic sovereignty, as the basis of economic normalization, is needed not only by the republic but by the oblast and city as well.

[U. ZMENELIS, department chief, LaSSR Gosplan]: Latvia has already begun preparing to implement the "General Principles." Even though this document has not yet been approved, but we think that it will not be any worse after the discussion. What positive features do we see even now? Clearly, the republic, cities, and rayons will have more independence. As regards the transfer of enterprises from union jurisdiction to republic jurisdiction, this is what I have to say: I am opposed to equating union bureaucracy with republic bureaucracy. The republic bureaucracy is, after all, closer to the needs of the population of a given region and it is easier to oversee its actions. Nevertheless, we consider the creation of organizations and enterprises that are not subordinate to any department to be a still more radical step.

It is difficult to agree with the proposal in section III of the "General Principles" that enterprises under republic jurisdiction shall pay profit withholdings according to one norm while union enterprises shall pay profit withholdings under another norm. We therefore support the system that is proposed by our Estonian colleagues: that transactions with the union budget be carried out in a single channel.

Much has been said here about a republic currency. I realize that this will not happen in the first stage. But this is what I would like everyone to think about: the economic interests of a republic's population require a certain measure of protection. Last year, 480 million rubles' worth of goods more were shipped out of Latvia than our population imported into our republic. In general it could be said that the money stays in the republic. But what does our Gosbank do with this money? It packages it up and ships it to Moscow where USSR Gosbank distributes it to the regions from which the money comes. If the ruble were even nearly convertible, if we could freely use this money to buy the corresponding goods, resources, and foreign currency, the question would not even arise.

[I. TSINKUS, deputy general director, Riga "Sarkanays kvadrats" Association]: As regards jurisdiction to a union or republic organ, in the general scheme of things, this is not so very important. Something else is important. Our association ships approximately 85 percent of its output outside Latvia. About four percent of our total income remains in the republic. Plus...2000 tons of waste material and other problems. Ideally the enterprise should not be subordinate to either the republic or the union. It should be economically independent and work for the market according to economic laws. I refer to enterprises that produce consumer goods.

[K. ANTANAVICHUS, department head, Economics Institute, LiSSR Academy of Sciences; doctor of economic sciences]: What are the reasons behind our economic nonsense? The fact that money does not work, that there is no normal market...I would not very much like to emphasize, as Professor Uosis does, that we need economic changes for sovereignty. I am firmly convinced that all economic changes in our conception—free price formation, market relations, the abolition of the existing planning system, etc.—are required so that the economy would begin to function normally. We proceed from the premise that economic freedom is granted to any unit: cooperative, enterprise, information center. You pay your taxes and everything else is yours.

We say: everything for man. Let him work for himself at the enterprise, in the rayon. We have regions where the air is very polluted by chemical plants. This is the right of those who live there to sell their health and the health of their children. But then life in this region must be 5, 10, or 20 times richer than others.

[N. DANILOV]: I represent a suffering city in the Urals. There are more effluents from the enterprises in our city with a population of half a million people than in all Estonia. There is not even any need to speak about the level of morbidity. Of late, we have been shaken by ecological meetings. The city's social and ecological problems are solved very slowly despite the fact that Nizhniy Tagil enterprises pay more taxes than some republics. And considering the fact that any extra kopeck

is taken away from our budget, we decided to create the regional interbranch association (TMO: *territorialnoye mezhotraslevoye ob'yedineniye*).

Our basic principles are such: it is not the replacement of the dictatorship of the department by the dictatorship of the "region"; rather it is economic dialog. Twenty-five thousand rubles a year from an enterprise for a workplace; approximately 700 rubles per person. The funds are used to strengthen the social infrastructure.

We have also created a nonbudget fund. This is something like the city's savings passbook: the fund for the development of municipal services. We make it up on a contractual basis. Everyone needs good roads. An enterprise and the TMO conclude a contract on joint actions. The enterprise contributes money and I am responsible for seeing to it that it is used for its intended purpose.

We believe that the TMO is the basis of the economic mechanism of urban development. And after all, to me, as a *gorispolkom* official, it is all the same to whom people bow: the USSR Council of Ministers or the republican council of ministers. The city must have its own money.

What frightens me about the transition to the new economic mechanism of regional development is the system of price formation. It is hopelessly involved. There is no making head nor tail of the interbranch balances. And how should one compile interrepublic balances. Will we not have a falling out?

Question: Does your TMO require economic accountability for all Sverdlovsk Oblast?

[N. DANILOV]: We have 44 cities in our oblast. Are we 44 proprietors or 44 petitioners? I am in favor of 44 proprietors. But of course there must be coordination at the oblast level.

[V. GRIGORYEV, general director, Kazan "Rezinotekhnika" Association]: Regional economic accountability must be established on a good scientific basis. Or else we will be converted to so-called full economic accountability at one fell swoop. We collected, we indicated; there was no discussion, no preliminary study. As a result, nothing was improved. Only the signs were changed.

There has been discussion here of voluntary association. I would not like to form an association with a kindred enterprise—this will only intensify the concentration. I would prefer to form an association with a machine building plant, with a construction organization, with science, even with a *sovkhoz*—anything to feed the people...

[G. YASKELYAVICHUS, general director, Utenskiy Soft Drink Plant (Lithuania)]: We produce 40 million rubles' worth of products a year, but after taxes and

standard withholdings we are left with 500,000 rubles. What can one do for the collective with this amount of money? We started operating on a lease basis so as to untie our hands and free ourselves of administrative pressure. In the very first month, we overfulfilled our plan by 25 percent. People work better when they know that they will receive the money they have earned.

Question: If you are going to have economic independence, what kind of economic accountability is better for you—republic or city?

[G. YASKELYAVICHUS]: The most important thing is: plant! But in order that money earned does not become cheaper, republic economic accountability is needed.

[P. TREYER, general director, Tallin "Talleks" Association]: The republic itself must regulate the size of the withholdings, otherwise manpower will migrate from one enterprise to another. Today there is already "raskulachivaniye" [dispossession of kulaks] at large union enterprises because the "brains" are moving to cooperatives and small enterprises because they have an entirely different basis for pay.

In our view, we cannot have a Law on the State Enterprise and a Law on Cooperatives at the same time. There is need for a legislative act that would place everyone under the same conditions. That is when all-out competition would begin.

In order to make "Talleks" workers more interested in the result of their work, we decided to introduce credit cards at the plant. A person will not try to do better work if he knows that there is nothing he can buy with the 400 rubles he has earned "Talleks." It will evidently not be possible to introduce republic money, but it is easy to adopt credit cards immediately. A person is allowed to transfer 50 percent of his pay, for example, to a card. And he knows that he will be able to buy scarce goods for all 200 rubles.

[S. UOSIS] Where will the credit card goods be obtained if they cannot be purchased for rubles? This means that there will be a covert source of supply. And where will goods to buy with the remaining 50 percent come from?

[P. TREYER]: A person can travel to Vilnius, Riga, Leningrad.

Rejoinder: But cards may also come into use there.

[N. DANILOV]: When I go home from here my countrymen will ask me what was offered at this roundtable. I will reply: there were proposals to introduce electronic money and special shops. And what about us? Our stores do not even have what you have in the Baltic republics. This is also real regional differentiation. We have a powerful chemical industry and ferrous metallurgy. Can we renounce them the way the Baltic republics are renouncing ecological harmful production facilities?

They are the basic branches of the country's entire economy! We cannot get away from this. We carry this cross. And you propose placing some kind of screens in front of us.

[A. CHUPLINSKAS, general director, Lithuanian "Sigma" Production Association]: I agree that enterprises should be without departmental subordination and should have full freedom of planning. But even now collectives have been given many rights. We, for example, are developing a program for promoting interest in better work. Thus we are planning to give all workers 24 days of paid leave. Of course, this will require higher labor productivity, additional goods and more profits. We are planning to expand benefits for women: to grant longer child-care leave, to raise pensions. We are planning to give veterans 18,000 rubles severance pay and to grant loans to young people. We estimate that such a program would help us to raise labor productivity 2-2.5-fold and to raise pay 1.5-fold in 3 years.

Question: Are you opposed to swapping the "yoke" of a union department for a republic "yoke?"

[A. CHUPLINSKAS]: Yes I am. We are convinced that this will accomplish nothing.

[L. YANKAUSKAS, general director, Lithuanian "Banga" Production Association]: I also believe that no kind of ministry is needed to manage an enterprise. We must obey the Law on the State Enterprise. And we must see to it that this law is in effect. We must make the transition to direct ties in material supply and in the sale of finished goods. A "third person" is a hindrance rather than a help. But we are not entirely ready to make the transition to direct ties: there is not conscientiousness and there is need for a legal guarantee of these ties under republic economic accountability.

Republic light industry receives 72-74 million rubles' worth of materials in hard currency and sells only 3 million rubles' worth in exports. And when it passes to republic jurisdiction, who will give these 74 million? Such a situation is also characteristic of other branches. And when the republic makes the transition to regional economic accountability, these problems must be resolved.

Another point. No one is calculating the local budget. We have already been assigned a norm: 10 percent of the profits go to the local budget. Will a city obtain the funds it needs when it receives withholdings from all enterprises. No one is calculating this today.

I was pleased to hear about the specific actions of people in Nizhniy Tagil: people are striving to obtain their due under the present system. If course, it is easier to shout: there are no rights, there is nothing, everything leads to zero. But we in the collective have set ourselves the task of resolving all social problems: providing people with housing, medical care, rest and recreation, food, and

semifabricates. Even though no one ordered us, we ourselves build a hothouse valued at two million rubles. We provided foreign currency to buy vegetable-growing technology abroad for another hothouse.

I also want to express my opinion as to whether we are moving too fast in making the transition to republic cost accounting. We have concluded a contract with a Danish firm to teach us management skills. Their curriculum includes the following example. You have decided to eat an elephant. But how do you go about it? All at once? It won't work. You have to eat a piece 3 times a day and in 5 years there will be no elephant. This is what I am in favor of: realistic timetables without undue, rash haste.

[S. UOSIS]: Many directors take a narrow view of this problem. Their plant must have more funds in order to build a swimming pool and housing. This is a natural economy. Departmental housing is a vestige of the feudal system. We must get rid of this and housing must become a commodity.

More. There is notable pressure of technocratic thinking and a lack of economic thinking. If we manage the national economy like a plant, there will be no pere-stroyka. If our economic accountability is just as operational as production, who among us will put everything together. How will we free ourselves of imbalance, of disproportions?

[V. PAVLOVA]: Under regional economic accountability, it is first of all important to coordinate interrelations between the primary economic link—the enterprise and lowest organ of power—the rayon or city soviet.

I too am not satisfied with all the points in the "General Provisions." Thus, this document envisages a share of withholdings from payments for productive capital and from profit taxes that is uniform for all union republics. But after all, the per capita difference in the industrial production is enormous—as much as 3.5-fold and this means that funds received by republic budgets will also fluctuate within the same proportions. Central Asian republics, where the level of per capita consumption is one-half the all-union average, will be in the most difficult situation. Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan (whose level is about 70 percent of the all-union level) will be in almost the same situation.

The standard norm will also negatively affect the situation in regions with cost-increasing factors: remoteness, wage coefficients and increments. And housing construction, let us say, in the Far North and Far East costs several times more. Obviously, local organs will try to compensate these expenditures with higher payments for labor and natural resources. And this can lead to a certain curtailment of individual types of production and to the violation of the principle of uniform distribution of the productive forces throughout the nation,

which is especially fraught [?] for such a republic as the RSFSR. A union republic must also have the right to differentiate these norms on its territory.

I also believe that the elephant must be eaten over a five-year period. The economic mechanism is so complex that you can't change it overnight.

Opinions expressed at our roundtable about the "General Principles," about ways of restructuring the economic and social sphere in union republics vary greatly and in some cases are diametrically opposed. This is understandable: it is a complex problem requiring a reasoned approach and the present "starting" positions of the republics are unequal.

We will continue the discussion of the draft of the "General Principles" and we invite the readers to take a constructive part in the discussion.

Association for Exchange with U.S. Formed at Leningrad University
18000824 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 23 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with A.A. Yevseyev, chairman of USSR-U.S.A. Dialogue Association and candidate of philosophical sciences, by T. Chesanova: "The Dialogue Association Is Ready to Provide the Opportunity for Communication, Meetings, and Exchanges"]

[Text] Making a business trip to the United States with the purpose of one's professional development and studying English under natural linguistic conditions is an opportunity that can be provided by the USSR-U.S.A. Dialogue Association that was created on the initiative of the instructors and students at Leningrad State University. But the study of language is certainly not the primary goal. Rather, it is a means of achieving mutual understanding, of establishing business contacts between ordinary Americans and Soviet citizens.

Thus this uncommercial educational organization attempts to carry on a practical basis a dialogue between the citizens of the two superpowers within the framework of a program of "public diplomacy" and business and cultural cooperation. Recently A. A. Yevseyev, the association chairman and candidate of philosophical sciences, returned from a trip to the United States, and we began our discussion with the question, "What is the attitude in America to the Dialogue program?"

[A. Yevseyev] Properly speaking, for Americans there is nothing new in our program—all the countries of the world are familiar with individual, professional, and family exchanges, and it is customary to study a foreign language in a country where it is the native language. But until recently these contacts with our country were impossible. That is why such an attentive attitude was shown to our association.

According to statements made by Americans, the very appearance of the nongovernmental Dialogue association, the arrival of its chairman in America, and the lectures that he gave and the statements that were given in the press and on television with regard to our association's program attest to perestroika, glasnost, and the greater openness of our society.

[T. Chesanova] Specifically who on the American side is ready to begin a dialogue with the Leningraders?

[A. Yevseyev] In my briefcase I have a large number of recommendations that range from individual exchanges and language programs to the broad development of economic-trade ties between major American corporations in Philadelphia and Leningrad organizations, both state and cooperative. But everything comes up against the lack of knowledge of the language, and, consequently, the inability to conduct business negotiations. And we were never taught how to speak. Therefore our motto is: "Through contacts, to language, and through language, to contacts."

Many American universities are ready to participate in building language schools and centers in Leningrad, and computer companies are ready to provide them with everything they need. Our association is capable of activating the tremendous missionary spirit of Americans who are ready and able to help us rise to a qualitatively new level in our business relations.

Most of the Americans, who are tired of the suspicion and fear, recognize the need to normalize our relations. Many of them, as private individuals, are ready right now to invite their Leningrad colleagues to visit them for two weeks, a month, or the summer. Whereas some of them want to receive guests in their own family, others propose organizing exchange programs for groups at colleges or schools that are vacant during the summer, or at summer camps.

[T. Chesanova] Then on the American side everyone is ready for practical actions. But what is the situation on our side?

[A. Yevseyev] We are also taking action. Since 1 October, with the cooperation of the Youth Initiatives Foundation at LGU [Leningrad State University], classes in conversational English have been in progress on a cost-accountable basis. In those classes, by way of an experiment, American probationary students have already been the instructors. For children who belong to the International Friendship Club of the Palace of Pioneers, classes with Americans have been financed by our association. An educational audio-video club is in operation, and we show English-language movies there.

USSR-U.S.A. Dialogue has organized a number of meetings, including a meeting between Soviet and American managers under the motto "Commerce to Serve the

Peace." And we propose organizing this June a conversational-English summer school with the participation of instructors from the United States.

But in order for us to be a serious business partner, it is necessary to change our association from the status of an amateur association, which we have today, to the status of a noncommercial, educational, peace-making organization on a city scale, with the independent right to send abroad and to receive in the USSR participants in international programs.

[T. Chesanova] I understand why it should be educational and peace-making, but why is it noncommercial?

[A. Yevseyev] For us this concept is still unfamiliar, especially when everyone is rushing to achieve commercial success now that that possibility has appeared. But the fact of the matter is that, in this instance, "noncommercial" is a not very precise term. It would be more correct to say "nonprofit." But even that definition by no means presupposes low economic effectiveness. It does, however, indicate the lack of the opportunity for its managers and employees to derive a profit or enrich themselves.

It may be for that reason that in most of the countries it is customary legislatively to give definite tax incentives not only to the "noncommercial" organizations themselves, but also to those who channel some of their income into developing them. Thus this is also beneficial to the "giver." The contributor can specify the purposes for which his contribution must be used.

It is no accident that private American universities that are famous for their high quality of education are "noncommercial" organizations. This enables them to use the considerable grants given by major companies to provide them with equipment and to pay the instructors. Hence the high quality of education.

[T. Chesanova] Who in our country can grant such status to your association?

[A. Yevseyev] All that is needed is a decision by the Lensovet [Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies] ispolkom. Organizations that are ready to act as the founders of our association are the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society, the Institute of Culture, the Association for Business Cooperation in Developing Specialized Foreign Tourism, and certain cooperatives. It would seem that both LGU and the Pedagogical Institute are ready to support us.

[T. Chesanova] What should be the first step in order to change over from passive readiness to action?

[A. Yevseyev] First of all, as trivial as this sounds, after the USSR-U.S.A. Dialogue association is registered, it will need decent accommodations, a telephone, and "seed money." Other than an office and means of

communication, the thing that is needed first of all is a training base. Then we will resolve that problem. Incidentally, our American sponsors have already registered our Dialogue in Washington, and have provided an office and everything that is needed.

They want to work with us to resolve problems that we have in common, but it is necessary to give them an opportunity that never existed before and never could. As real businessmen, they want to do business. But what kind of business conversation can you have without the possibility of speaking?

Just as, in my discussions, I also spoke to Americans from the television screen, let us not miss that opportunity in our own country. Whereas you see the future prospect in developing broad contacts on the basis of the effective study of a language, we are expecting specific business proposals. Your contribution will be use to develop the area in which you are interested. Our mail address is: Leningrad, 1900000, Post Box 159, Settlement Account 19001461215 MFO [Moscow Finance Department] 17111 Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Branch of Zhilsotsbank, Attention "Dialogue." We have specific proposals for exchanging groups of children, students, and instructors. We know who will accept us in America, but who will be the partner on our side?

Demonstration Held on Opening Polish Consulate
18000759 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
In Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by A. Svirbutavichyute: "Shall We Open the Window?"]

[Text] A demonstration took place on Wednesday in Chernyakhovskiy Square. Over a thousand persons assembled, demanding that a referendum be held on the issue concerning the advisability of opening a consulate of the Polish People's Republic in Vilnius.

So, do we need such a consulate or not? Those assembled unanimously felt—We do not need it! Speakers defended their position, vociferously explaining what would be taken from us, what we would lose, and how many insults we would be subjected to if such a consulate were to appear. And, on top of this, was the word, passed from one person to the other, about the consul's of the Polish People's Republic possibly already living and working in Vilnius. This only heated up the passions, and it was said in the crowd: We must have a referendum.

But, in reality—is one needed? So, for the moment, let us set aside the vital issue of the consulate's opening in Vilnius, and think about something else. What, for instance, is a referendum? Who has the right to ask—is there to be one or not? On what issues may a referendum be held? The first obstacle, which we shall not overcome either today or tomorrow, is this: We do not have a law on the referendum (and yet we are striving to become a legal state!). Let us suppose that such a law materializes

here. Is it necessary to hold a referendum frequently? A referendum is a form of inquiry made of the aggregate of the citizens, a universal vote by the citizens, on the adoption of a constitution or some other law, as well as a domestic or foreign policy. Here the two words **aggregate** and **universal** should be stressed. So, can a thousand citizens be called the **aggregate**? Furthermore, slogans, uttered several times at opportune moments, rang out stridently during the demonstration, expressing lack of confidence in one or another minister or government member. And here I thought—Why? Apparently, the crux of the matter is that our heads are still spinning from too strong a dose of democracy.

Here one may again ponder: How would it be if the baker baked bread, the milkmaid milked cows, the diplomat worked in the sphere of official relations with foreign countries, and the journalist wrote articles. It would be normal, inasmuch as each would be doing his or her job. But what if the places of all of the above were switched? What would we have achieved? And it is so simple.

Thus, in expressing lack of confidence, we should give some thought to what we are striving for, what we want. And we all want the same thing: a legal democratic state and the republic's sovereignty. So, should we, perhaps, begin this work with ourselves? These thoughts come to mind regarding the demonstration in Chernyakhovskiy Square.

And now, more to the point.... The crowd favorably received the words of Yustas Paletskis, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's ideology department chief—The people's plans are the party's plans (Let us recall that it used to be the other way around)—as well as the specific answer of V. Mikuchauskas, Lithuanian SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the question of whether or not there will be a consulate of the Polish People's Republic in Vilnius.

"For the time being, there will not be one," answered the minister. "The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered this question even earlier at Poland's request. Our republic's former leadership had approved it. Now the situation has changed, and there will be no hasty decisions...."

The demonstration, which began so noisily, ended quietly. But the thought has troubled me: Why was this thousand making a decision, a proposal, and a demand in the name of us all? Besides, is it really bad for this consulate to appear in Vilnius and our representation in Warsaw? And in Germany as well, in Hungary, and in other countries? Why, that would be a wider window on the world, whereas the assembled crowd actually was proposing...to close the blinds.

Cultural Festival in FRG Presages Wider Initiative

18000802 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA*
In Russian 9 Apr 89 p 5

[Interview with I.D. Puzakov, head of the RSFSR sector of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Other Nations, conducted by correspondent P. Timofeyev]

[Text] On April 19 a Russian festival will begin in Northern Rhineland-Westphalia, FRG. The program of festivities, the center of which will be the city Iserlohn, has been worked out and agreed upon by the German side and a Soviet delegation which visited them. Leading the Soviet delegation are the Deputy Minister of Culture of the RSFSR, A.F. Kostyukovich, and I.D. Puzakov, the head of the republic's sector of the SSOD (Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Other Nations).

[Puzakov] The arrangements being made for the Russian Federation in Iserlohn can be called a kind of rehearsal: next year there are plans to have a Russian festival which would involve all of Rhineland-Westphalia. However, that does not diminish the importance of this year's festival. We have succeeded in gathering together a very impressive delegation. A chorus of old Russian music under the direction of Valeriy Rybin, Igor Bril's jazz ensemble, and a group of ballet dancers from our best theaters are all on their way to the FRG. We are also bringing an exhibit of Russian artists of the 1930's to Iserlohn.

[Correspondent] And where else are representatives from Russia expected to visit this year?

[Puzakov] Madagascar, Sweden, Austria, Great Britain, the Philippines...and that's by far not a complete list. Interest in the Soviet Union and particularly in Russia has increased dramatically in recent years. The SSOD is receiving quite a number of proposals and invitations. We are unable to accept all of them.

[Correspondent] Why not, if it isn't a secret? Have you had trouble forming delegations?

[Puzakov] Despite the fact that the cultural workers in our groups often travel abroad as tourists, we have no problems recruiting enough people for our delegations. Even the most famous artists who constantly tour in the West are always willing. The main attraction for them is the extensive opportunity these missions of friendship provide to associate with both their colleagues and ordinary people abroad. For example, not long ago during the Russian Festival in Australia, the hotel where our delegation was staying was literally besieged by the local population. Everyone wanted to invite a Soviet person to his home, if only for an hour or so. The real difficulty is with foreign currency. The SSOD is simply unable to take delegations to every country that invites

them. Also, a lack of personnel hampers our work. The Russian Federation is the only republic in the Soviet Union without its own Society of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Other Nations.

[Correspondent] You're not painting a very rosy picture of things. How will you deal with this situation?

[Puzakov] Where there's a will there's a way. We are now trying to arrange partnerships with the firms and organizations in the West particularly interested in exchanging delegations and forming other contacts with Russia,

not necessarily on a foreign currency basis. For example, for several years we have worked closely with Riverside Studio in London. Constant exchanges of delegations of young directors and artists as well as various exhibits have already become a pleasant tradition. The collaboration with the American organization "People to People" promises to be very interesting. Incidentally, People to People has proposed the creation of a joint venture with the SSOD using a broad network of infrastructures, including large hotel complexes. We hope that trips to the USA by representatives of the Russian Federation and its public will soon become a regular activity.

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